The Social Contract

Vol. XI, No. 1 Fall 2000

Highlights

An interview with courageous Arizona rancher Roger Barnett.

Attorneys Barnaby Zall and John Rohe review the 'invasion clause' of the U.S. Constitution.

Testimony from Arizona law enforcement officials and custodians of precious national park areas confirm the numbers and outline the damage.

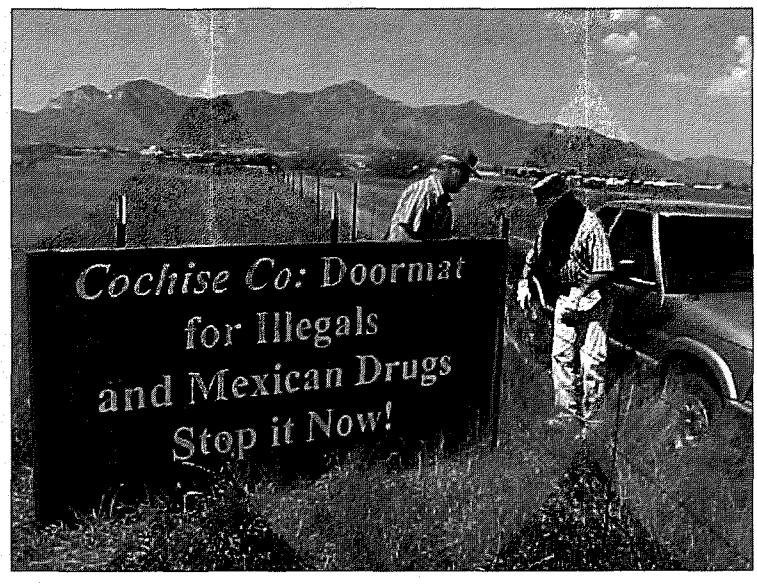
Diana Hull uses medical analogies to discuss the lack of 'informed consent' by the American electorate.

Several columnists express their opinions about the border crisis:

Michael Blanchfield
Jim Bronskill
Samuel Francis
Georgie Anne Geyer
Denos Marvin
Charley Reese
Robert Samuelson
George Szamuely

America's Porous Borders

Why don't we call it an 'invasion'?



Arizona rancher Roger Barnett is assisted by Robert Park in erecting a sign. An interview with Barnett begins on page 10.

See Joseph Fallon's report on foundation grants and the radical Hispanic lobby, p.56

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About The Social Contract

The English philosopher John Locke, whose thinking helped inspire the American revolution, said that society should be governed by an understood set of values he termed "the social contract." Under the social contract, governments have obligations to their citizens, and citizens have responsibilities to society.

Most great public issues are basically moral and ethical ones. What is the right thing to do? How do we decide what we think is right? When "rights" collide, which ones take precedence? The concept of the social contract helps us sort out the difficult issues confronting American society today and helps us find balance.

Each quarter, The Social Contract *journal examines trends, events and ideas that could unravel America's delicate social fabric. Key topics addressed by this journal:*

- *Human population issues, including absolute size, rate of growth and distribution. Do cherished American ideals prosper or suffer through further population growth?*
- *Immigration issues. In order to best facilitate meeting the highest goals of the American people, (1) how many immigrants should we admit? (2) who should be admitted, and (3) how can we humanely enforce the rules?*
- *Language, assimilation, culture and national unity considerations. What are the shared values necessary to the maintenance of our social contract?*
- *The balance of individual rights and civic responsibilities. Since the previous issues are so often framed in terms of rights, what are the balancing obligations?*
- *Other nations' efforts at guarding or creating their own social contracts. What practical insight can be gained from observing the failures and successes in nation-building by other societies?*

The Social Contract *explores these complex and interrelated issues with articles varying greatly in outlook and philosophy in the attempt to further vigorous public debate.*

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THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

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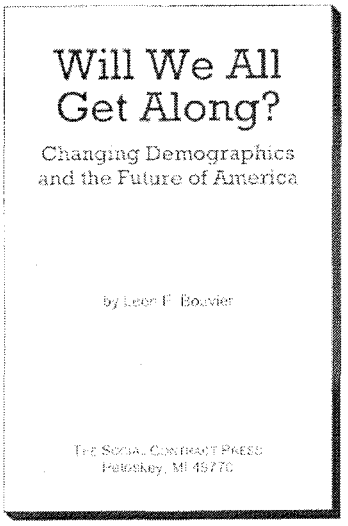
Will We All Get Along?
Changing Demographics and the Future of America
by Leon F. Bouvier
The Social Contract Press
Petoskey, MI 49770

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E-BOOK

Will We All Get Along? by demographer Leon Bouvier looks at the future size and composition of the United States. As a nation we will increase our numbers substantially; we will get older; we will become more ethnically diverse. How will we as a people get along with one another? Will we be too crowded? Will there be too many elderly to support? Will the dramatic changes in ethnic composition lead to more strife? These questions are all addressed in this forward-looking book.

The author has also developed a more direct approach to this difficult subject by adding a "personal experiences" section at the end of each chapter.

Here he explains how the demographic and social challenges have affected his own life. *Will We All Get Along?* is a brief synopsis of the challenges all Americans will face in this new century as a result of changes in the population.

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A Note from the Editor *The United States Under Siege*

Over the past two years, Douglas, Arizona, has been the hottest spot along the U.S.-Mexican border, with the Border Patrol apprehending 215,088 illegal aliens during the first six months of FY 2000. The Naco station, with 78,617 arrests through mid-June, has witnessed a 92 percent increase since last year. For the Tucson sector as a whole, there were 460,134 apprehensions from Oct. 1, 1999 through June 15, 2000, a 38 percent increase over the previous fiscal year total.

American property owners are threatened, as illegal aliens cross their ranches, cutting fences, scattering livestock, lighting campfires, leaving trails of refuse, and, on occasion, invading their homes. Local law enforcement agencies have been overwhelmed and the Border Patrol is stretched thinly over the distances involved.

The national media discovered that something is going on along our southern border only after American ranchers intercepted illegal aliens trespassing their homesteads and detained a number of them until alerted Border Patrol agents arrived. Too often, the ranchers were depicted as "vigilantes taking the law into their own hands." The Clinton Administration's misnamed Justice Department called in its Civil Rights Division, hoping to charge Americans with violation of the "rights" of the illegal aliens. When Mexican illegals are arrested, U.S. Justice Department officials contact the Mexican consulate. As Jose de Jesus Rivera, U. S. Attorney for the District of Arizona, informed the Senate Judiciary Immigration Subcommittee, "Every effort is made to facilitate the speedy return of any Mexican detainees to their home country. Most are returned within 48 hours."

The Winter issue (available on-line at www.thesocialcontract.com) detailed the little-known situation along our northern border with Canada, where illegal aliens and drug runners are entering with scant difficulty. America's southern border remains porous. And an estimated 50 percent of illegal aliens arrive through our ports and airline hubs, sporting tourist or student visas. They simply overstay, and we currently have no mechanism in place to track them once they pass into the interior of our country.

Immigration control is not impossible. After all, the U.S. Defense Department has managed to help secure the borders of countries in Europe, the Middle East, and Asia for decades. Ten years after the end of the Cold War, U.S. military forces are still stationed in *100 countries*.

By contrast, there are 8200 members of the Border Patrol. The illegals who slip by them, or enter legally on short-time student, tourist, or business visas and decide to overstay, are basically home free. There are only 1900 INS special agents responsible for interior enforcement.

Control requires a comprehensive effort on the part of policy makers. Currently, the strategy is not to genuinely curtail illegal immigration, but merely to placate local and state officials when a crisis emerges.

The public at large needs to be informed about what is really going on, why it is important to our future, and what can be done about it. This is where we — and our readers — come in. We all need to get more involved.

WAYNE LUTTON, Ph.D.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
as it refers to "invasion"

Article I.

Section.8. The Congress shall have Power To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defense and general Welfare of the United States;...

To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions;...

Article IV.

Section 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion; and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against Domestic Violence.

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The Bulletin Board

Immigration on the Internet

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT journal now has a research site by which all the articles published in previous issues of the journal are available at <thesocialcontract.com>.

Here are some other sites that readers may find of interest. By listing them here *The Social Contract* does not imply an endorsement of all the material on any specific site.

- The Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) <fairus.org>.
- "Immigration by the Numbers" <numbersusa.com>.
- ProEnglish <proenglish.org>.
- Center for Immigration Studies <cis.org>.
- Affirmative Action for Immigrants <pw2.netcom.com/~jimrobb>.
- Peter Brimelow, Scott McConnell, et al, <www.vdare.com>.
- News and commentary on ethnic and other conflicts worldwide <antiwar.com>.
- Carrying Capacity Network <carryingcapacity.org>.
- Negative Population Growth <www.npg.org>.
- Philip Martin's *Migration News* <migration.ucdavis.edu>.
- Professor Norman Matloff: <heather.cs.ucdavis.edu/pub/Immigration/Index/html>.
- Midwest Coalition for Responsible Immigration <enteract.com/~mcri97>.
- Sierrans for US Population Stabilization <susps.org>.
- A parody site: <sierraclubbed.com>.
- *People and Place* is published in Australia by the Centre for Population and Urban Research <elecpress.monash.edu.au/pnp>.
- Canadian Immigration Reform Committee <canadafirst.net>.
- Voices of Citizens Together <americanpatrol.com>.
- Council of Conservative Citizens <cofcc.org>.
- Columnist Samuel Francis <www.samfrancis.net>.
- The Biocentric Institute <ultralink/net/IAPM>.
- "Stalking the Wild Taboo" <lrainc.com/swtaboo/>.
- Project USA <projectusa.org>.
- The European Forum for Migration Studies <www.uni-bamberg.de/efms>.
- Floridians for a Sustainable Population <flsuspop.org/index.htm>.
- Population and Sustainability <www.ecofuture.org/ecofuture/populat.html>.
- American Renaissance <amren.com>.
- *Mankind Quarterly, The Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies* — articles and reviews including population, immigration and public policy: <mankind.org>.
- Federal Publications (developments in immigration law) <fedpub.com/immigration>.

E-mail addresses for pertinent organizations:

- <center@cis.org> Center for Immigration Studies (CIS).
- <npg@npg.org> Negative Population Growth.
- <ccn@igc.apc.org> Carrying Capacity Network (CCN).
- <caps@calweb.com> Californians for Population Stabilization (CAPS).
- <newsclips-subscribe@egroups.com> Conservative News Links.

And from the perspective of the opposition and their stand for open borders:

- The American Immigration Lawyers Association <aila.org/home.htm>.
- The Sierra Club <sierraclub.org>.
- The Aztlan Organization <aztlan.org>.
- Political Ecology Group (PEG) <igc.org/peg>.

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Letters to the Editor

EDITOR:

Thanks for Don Feder's article exposing "Clueless" Jack Kemp (Vol. X, No.4, Summer 2000, p.247). The California Coalition for Immigration Reform (co-sponsor of California's Proposition 187 in 1994 — the measure denying public services to illegal aliens) takes pleasure in dogging Clueless at conferences and exposing him as a fraud.

In 1990, when Clueless was HUD chief, the City of Costa Mesa, California proposed excluding illegal aliens from HUD housing and other public services. After meeting with illegal alien advocacy groups he killed the proposal by threatening to terminate all federal aid to that city, personally nullifying the findings of his own HUD attorneys that such exclusion was legal (See *Los Angeles Times* articles June 12, 13, 18 and 21, 1990).

In 1994 Clueless came to California twice to campaign against Proposition187. Then he did the waffling-shuffle to run as Vice-President in 1996 with Bob Dole, who supported denying public benefits to illegals. Now he publicly supports the AFL/CIO demand for amnesty for the several million illegals in the United States.

Augmenting his duplicity, Clueless appeared on "Larry King Live" at the Republican Convention on August 2, 2000, lauding Gov. Bush for his *welfare reform and immigration reform positions*!

Evidently Clueless forgot that people dub him *champion* of illegal aliens' right to tax-supported housing, welfare and other benefits. Maybe the Seven Deadly Sins should be increased to *eight* in order to include *hypocrisy*.

EVELYN MILLER
Irvine, California

EDITOR:

Tim Aaronson provided a great response to fourth grade teacher Zulma Hernandez in "On Teachable Moments" (*The Social Contract*, Summer 2000). The immigration billboard sponsored by ProjectUSA refers to the numbers, and not ethnicity, of immigration-driven population growth. For fourth-graders, Ms. Hernandez could have left it at that. But she wanted to involve the children in issues of ethnicity, and she asked some stark questions of ProjectUSA.

ProjectUSA does not deal with issues of ethnicity, but I do.

Ms. Hernandez says "The (billboard) is creating conflict among the children of different backgrounds and hatred against a group of people. These fourth graders stated that people who see the billboard will think that immigrants are bad people and will act violently against them."

Ms. Hernandez, the billboard could not possibly do that among fourth graders unless guided in that interpretation. You are stigmatizing the sponsors of the billboard, and all others who oppose mass immigration, as bad people. A decent respect for intellectual honesty requires that you present their position in a fair manner (if you are going to address the issue at all), or bring in someone who will.

Ms. Hernandez and her fellow grade-school teachers want to know what is meant by "American people?" "According to you, who is a true 'American Person?' Is it Native Americans … or United States citizens who entered the U.S. before 1970?"

The question implies that the United States is up for grabs, and no identifiable group has an unquestionable claim to it. Let me ask who is Vietnamese? Who is Chinese? The answer is clear: Those who are descended from Vietnamese, are Vietnamese. Those who are descended from Chinese, are Chinese. An Italian family, that moves to China, has children born in China, followed by grandchildren born in China: the grandchildren are not Chinese. In the hospital where the grandchildren are born, the nurses do not gather around and say "What cute Chinese babies!" They say "What cute Italian (or European) babies!"

The core American ethnic group, the European Americans, built this country over the centuries out of a sparsely populated wilderness. America's language, culture, religion, science and art come almost exclusively from this group. This same ethnic group made an enormous contribution to the science and engineering of Western Civilization. For the first six

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decades of the 1900s, we were 88% of the population. This country is ours, and we would be foolish to relinquish it. There are distinct ethnic groups that have migrated here in large numbers in the past 30 years. But 30 years is too short a period to be recognized as a historical claim.

Ms. Hernandez wants someone to describe and explain American culture. "Isn't everything in this country adopted from foreign countries?" Our country was originally an extension of England, which is the source of most of our culture. All cultures evolve over time. The Japanese, for example, have adopted the railroad, the skyscraper, and the airplane from the West. But that does not imply that we have a right to Japanese land or a right to migrate there. The basis for all Japanese culture — the Japanese genetic heritage — remains unchanged.

You might explain to your fourth graders, Ms. Hernandez, that when foreign ethnic groups move in and displace a native ethnic group, it is always the invaders that claim to be the victims of the native's hatred and violence. Explain to your students that European-Americans, as a fraction of the population, are declining at a rate of 4 percent per decade and what that means for the future of this group.

PERRY LORENZ
An engineer in Ft. Collins, Colorado
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EDITOR:

On Saturday, 17 June 2000, a local tv station aired a program about "The Changing Face of Arizona," referring to the minority becoming the majority, as if it were a welcome fait accompli. A promotional sound bite, running ad nauseam the previous week, featured a minority member saying, "They are nervous about us becoming the majority because they're afraid we'll treat them as badly as they've treated us." Enraged at this chutzpah, I neither watched nor taped the show for posterity.

Not since the fall of Rome has a country so myopically allowed itself to be engulfed by aliens. And never has a tax-paying citizenry been forced to subsidize their own demise in the form of lost jobs, depressed wages, as well as [the cost of] social services lavished on the invaders.

As for "treatment," we, the waning majority, have done everything but provide limo service from the border. Diversity cops have manipulated most into believing it is racist to object to this tidal wave of humanity that is rapidly exhausting our resources and demolishing our ecosystem — years of conscientious conservation out the window!

Meanwhile, the fact that Third World overpopulation is the source of all migration is ignored, while symptoms, from traffic congestion to water shortages, are "managed" by building endless roads and drinking sewer water — a short-term solution equivalent to rearranging the deck chairs on the *Titanic*.

As we accommodate those coming here "for a better life," the only upside is that the deluge will eventually stop when the "new majority" succeeds in making this side of the border as squalid as the other.

Channel 15-TV is not alone in promoting the insanity. Other media, politicians, employers, educators and religious leaders — all who profit from cheap labor or gratuitous guilt — are responsible for the "changing face" which is already destroying life as we knew it: rising crime, gang violence, drug trafficking, graffiti, drunk driving, crowded schools, teen pregnancy, etc. (aka "culture?").

When the endless road building inevitably results in unbearable heat, and when there is finally not enough toilet water to go around, even then the PC crowd will probably not acknowledge that they should have left well enough alone; nor is it likely that they will apologize to those of us who cared.

SUSU LEVY, President
Foundation for Optimal Planetary Survival
Scottsdale, Arizona

EDITOR:

Approval from someone you respect is welcome; approval from Otis Graham is gratifying indeed. And Graham is right, of course, about my article on why liberals are not more actively involved in immigration reform ending "too soon" (*The Social Contract*, Vol.X, No.4, Feature Section, pp.229-243). It did not mention, for example, that just as clear liberal thinking (like mine) can be undermined by left-wing mulishness, well-reasoned and cogent conservative arguments can be smothered by right-wing irrationality. And reading or hearing such irrationality

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from left- or right-wing selective "histories" will repel clear thinkers, liberal or not, who would want no association with distorted rhetoric.

Specifically, Miles Wolpin's and (especially) John Attarian's articles raise some questions about whether liberals bear *total* responsibility for our current problems with immigration. For example:

1. Since all polls show almost equal support for immigration reduction from liberals and conservatives, why should we rely on what liberal "leaders" allege any more than we would heed the current "Hispanic" "leaders" who *also* do not represent their constituency? Citizens of *all* kinds want immigration reduced!

2. Why should we heed diatribes that rely on misrepresentations of liberalism? (To act as straw men?) True liberal compassion is expressed not only in the first half of the Talmudic lesson "If I am not for myself, who will be?" but equally in its often-neglected second half, "but if I am for myself *alone*, what am I?" Thus liberalism is based on self-interest, not self-sacrifice, recognizing that cooperation, the "social contract," is a survival mechanism — but you do not pauperize yourself or those most dependent on you in the process.

3. Is an "ideologue" someone you vigorously disagree with while you, as Bertrand Russell suggested, "have the courage of your convictions."

4. Is it "government paternalism" to provide unemployment insurance or welfare while it is a "free market" operation rather than paternalism to provide subsidies to tobacco farmers or agribusinesses, or cheaply-bought rights to the use of public lands for timber, mining and grazing interests?

5. If liberals and Communists are the plotters who want (like the cartoon mouse, The Brain) to "take over the world," are the directors of Coke, Pepsi, McDonald's and the other 400-or-so megacorporations who now control so much of the world's wealth, along with all the supporters of the WTO and NAFTA, all participants in this internationalist Red plot?

6. Are the American employers who covet cheap, docile, immigrants in such enterprises as computers, meat-packing, hotels, restaurants, real estate, construction, building maintenance — are they all liberals?

7. If, as a Euro-American you want to take credit for what some other members of your ethnic group, but not yourself, have accomplished, can you refuse to accept blame for how native populations were treated by your co-ethnics in all the Americas, Asia, Africa and Australia and for the Catholic-Protestant wars, the Inquisition and for both Hitler and Stalin? If assuming someone's else's guilt is sick, then isn't it only the psychologically or intellectually challenged who take credit to themselves for other people's deeds?

It seems clear that conservatives can also be prisoners of the past, that stupidity and greed are equal opportunity characteristics, and that there is more than enough blame, guilt and fault for everyone who wants a share to have one. It seems clear that it is far less important now to find fault than to find solutions. If liberals can support conservative representatives like Tancredo and Stump because of their enlightened views on immigration, then conservatives should be able to accept part of the blame for the fact that immigration reform is not doing better. After all, the Bushes, daddy and son, among other Republicans, are still on the other side.

Liberals want to save America because it is democracy's "last best hope" and because America's downfall threatens the entire world. Thus, we can want immigration stopped and all the ills that go with it: the ethnic rivalries that erode our society. Placing blame may ease one's psychological needs; and if the goal is to repel liberals, then being repulsive is clearly the appropriate tactic. My observation is that immigration reform still needs all the help it can get. Arguments that carefully select only those facts that fit a previously-arrived-at opinion do more harm than good. Fixing blame keeps us arguing with each other. Let's focus on working together to get it done.

EDWARD LEVY
New York, NY

EDITOR:

Naturally I am very pleased that *The Social Contract* thinks highly enough of Malthus and of my new monograph about him to grant the latter an extended "review-essay" treatment, and that the reviewer, John Attarian, felt moved to speak very well of it in at least some important respects. (He grants — among other things — that it is "a sturdy and valuable

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effort at rehabilitating Malthus"). However, since I have been doing my level best for some 35 years to get to grips with Malthus in order to try to kickstart a reappraisal of both the man and his core teachings, I do feel rather bemused by Dr. Attarian's parallel insinuation that I got Malthus's central message completely wrong:

His statement in the first column, "it is regarding the theory itself and its continued relevance that Parsons is most valuable," is flatly contradicted in the second column: "When Parsons addresses the theory itself ... trouble erupts." The way the reviewer presents my treatment of this fundamental issue is quite misleading. He quotes a lengthy passage of plain text, puts it into italics, underlines a single word, and then states "[Parson's emphasis]" whereas the original text gives emphasis to only a single word, "tendency." His portrayal reverses my emphasis and presents a seriously distorted interpretation which he then uses as an Aunt Sally. "This is uncomfortably near the common misrepresentation of Malthus which one encounters even among those who should know better" (p.276) ... "Actually, Malthus explicitly stated that 'population must always be kept down to the level of the means of subsistence'"(p.277).

He reinforces this blindingly obvious latter statement by describing the Malthusian "checks to population growth" as though these will be news not only to all the ignorant readers of *The Social Contract* but to the author of the monograph, also, thereby completely ignoring my two-and-a-half page exposition of Malthus's theory of the positive and preventive checks. He adds insult to injury by using the quotation above ("Malthus explicitly stated...") to demonstrate how badly I have failed to grasp the theory, apparently oblivious to the fact that my section just referred to commences with the identical passage.

He then takes me to task once again ("Parsons errs again...") for saying that Malthus was a "structuralist." It is quite true that I do say this but what he completely fails to appreciate is that this was done with heavy irony. The overall tenor of my treatment surely ought to have given the game away, since — when taken with purblind literalness — this tongue-in-cheek statement flatly negates the whole raison d'etre of the monograph. My points — which are really important — are that Malthus was neither a determinist nor a reductionist. He emphatically did *not* preach what he is so often accused of, that hunger and poverty are inevitable, or that — when these do occur — they are caused solely by the "principle of population."

Malthus was a "structuralist" only insofar as he was broad minded and allowed causes of poverty and deprivation other than excessive population pressure. I quote several striking passages to show that — in addition to emphasising the suffering which undoubtedly is caused by overpopulation — he fully appreciated and made quite explicit the malign influences of dysfunctional social norms and institutions in general and bad government in particular.

With regard to the reviewer's almost passionate rejection of my discussion of the idea of a "tendency" of population to increase beyond the means of subsistence and thus widen the "gap" between numbers and resources, I am at a loss. If there is no such tendency then where do the many and manifest problems come from? Why have poverty and hunger always been widespread? As the Hutterites have clearly demonstrated in our own time, in the absence of all "positive" and "preventive" checks the human female will on average produce upwards of 10 offspring. Some have argued that "natural fertility" is as high as 15 children per woman. Is there any conceivable social or ecological system which could combine such birthrates with a reasonably high life-expectancy for longer than the merest eye blink of historical time? I cannot very well accept or correct Dr. Attarian's allegations that I wrongly attribute quotations from Malthus as he gives no details.

However, in closing I thank him for granting that there are some good things in my monograph, but at the same time I cannot help expressing the wish that he had paid somewhat less attention to the letter and rather more to the spirit of the enterprise, a much-needed attempt to further the restoration of trust and respect for Malthus the man, the scholar, and the reformer, and a just appreciation of his massive contribution to human knowledge and welfare.

JACK PARSONS
Treferig, Wales, UK

(Continued)

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JOHN ATTARIAN responds:

Jack Parson's letter on my review of his Malthus monograph demonstrates that he can neither dish it out nor take it.

He accuses me of presenting a "misleading," "seriously distorted" version of his treatment of Malthus thus: "He quotes a lengthy passage of plain text, puts it into italics, underlines a single word, and then states '[Parson's emphasis]' whereas the original text gives emphasis to only a single word, 'tendency'" On reading this I guffawed. Naughty me with my distorting use of italics! What an imbecilic complaint! It is a typesetting convention at *The Social Contract* to put block quotes in italics — which Mr. Parsons, who is familiar with *The Social Contract*, cannot fail to know. Who's got the problem with reality here?

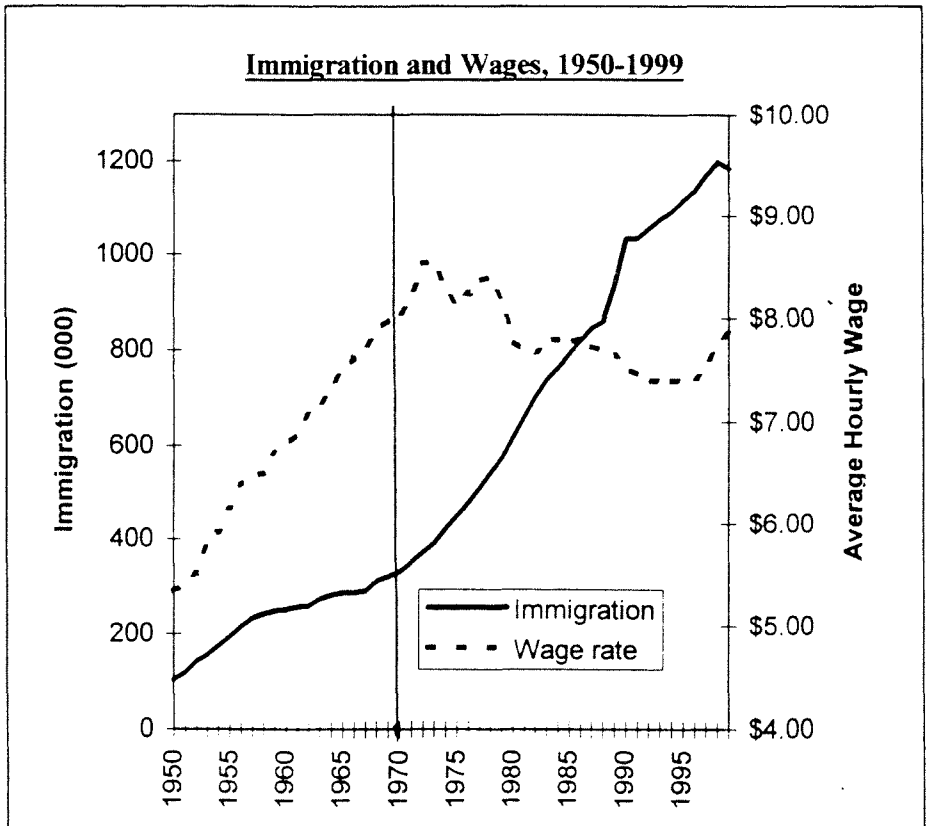
Likewise, Parsons snarls that I list Malthus's system of checks "as though these will be news," "thereby completely ignoring my two-and-a-half page exposition" of the checks. *Ignoring* his exposition? I was *praising* it: "he accurately presents Malthus's system of checks on population growth" (which I then enumerated). How did he miss that?

He complains that I didn't appreciate that his claim that Malthus was a structuralist "was done with heavy irony" and "tongue in cheek" and accuses me of "purblind literalness." Mr. Parsons, when I read a scholarly monograph, I want trustworthy information, not entertainment or authorial self-indulgence in "heavy irony" and such. A reader who assumes that Parsons is playing it straight rather than playing with words risks getting a — ahem — misleading and seriously distorted view of Malthus here.

As for misattribution, Parsons claims (his p.37) that the paragraphs in Malthus beginning "Although the laws that determine the rate at which population would increase..." and "There are few large countries..." are from the *First Edition*. In fact, they are from the *Summary View*.

In closing, Parsons whimpers that he wished I'd paid "somewhat less attention to the letter and rather more to the spirit of the enterprise" — i.e. blinked his monograph's shortcomings because his intentions (rehabilitating Malthus) are good. Translation: "He should have gone easy on the faults — I meant well!" Well, "paying attention to the letter of the enterprise" is what a book reviewer *does*. That's what careful criticism *means*. If the spirit of a text is supposed to override the letter, then scholarly and critical standards collapse, and the door opens to sloppiness of all kinds. Precisely that kind of indulgence goes far to explain the collapse of the modern mind. It was my *bounden duty* to do exactly what I did.

JOHN ATTARIAN Ann Arbor, Michigan



From the May 2000 newsletter, the Midwest Coalition to Reform Immigration (MCRI)

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One Man's Border Battle

An interview with businessman-rancher Roger Barnett as he copes with waves of illegals

by Robert Park and Rick Oltman

Roger Barnett of Cochise County, Arizona, has been in the national news. He has a towing operation along with a propane business in Sierra Vista, and a ranch about 65 miles away, northeast of Douglas. The 22,000-acre ranch of both deeded and state property is two miles from the Mexican border on the west side and five miles from the border on the east side. The Social Contract *asked Prescott, Arizona resident Robert Park of ProEnglish, accompanied by Rick Oltman of The Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), to interview Mr. Barnett about the influx of illegals crossing his property and the general problems along the Mexican border.*

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT: Roger Barnett, there has been an awful lot of press lately about problems here in Cochise County, Arizona with regard to the influx — or the invasion, so to speak — of illegal aliens coming across the Mexican border. Is your ranch impacted by that at all?

ROGER BARNETT: Tremendously. They come through daily, hourly sometimes. I think over a twenty-four hour period, someplace, somewhere on my place a person would be able to find an alien on it, whether there is one or whether there is a hundred.

TSC: Has the volume of alien traffic through your property caused any particular damage to it?

RB: Yes, there is damage all the time. When they come through, they are trampling down the grasses that are scarce in this area. They leave their trash behind. They are knocking fences down. When they come up on the water mains, they won't drink out of the trough, they think they will not get fresh water, so they puncture holes in the water mains. It is tremendous. There is damage to everything.

TSC: Have you tried to get any relief from this?

RB: Yes, I have complained and notified and talked about it to the local police, the state police and the federal authorities. It just seems like it goes in one ear and out the other.

TSC: How long do you think this has been going on to where you feel it has really adversely been affecting your operation?

RB: It has been going on for the last two-and-a-half to up to three years.

TSC: What do you have on your ranch? What kind of ranch operation is it?

RB: It is a beef cattle-raising business. I breed the mother cows, produce the young ones and sell them off every year.

TSC: You mentioned that you have made a lot of complaints to the various levels of authority, the Cochise County sheriff's office in particular. What kind of a response do you get from the sheriff's office?

RB: The sheriff he seems... I don't know, at least he sympathizes with us. But then he claims his hands are tied. He listens too much, I think, to the county attorney. The county attorney tells him that he has no jurisdiction or authority to do anything about it. So, therefore, he just backs off, I believe. Why I say that is because the other day there was a deputy sheriff patrolling — a border patrol officer off duty — who saw several cars load up. He called the sheriff's office for assistance, and that deputy comes back with the comment, "I'm not going to get involved with that, it's not my job." Then the border patrol says they were speeding down the road at 85 miles per hour. And finally that border patrolman had to convince him to go out there and assist and stop the guy from breaking the law.

TSC: What about the state authorities, the department

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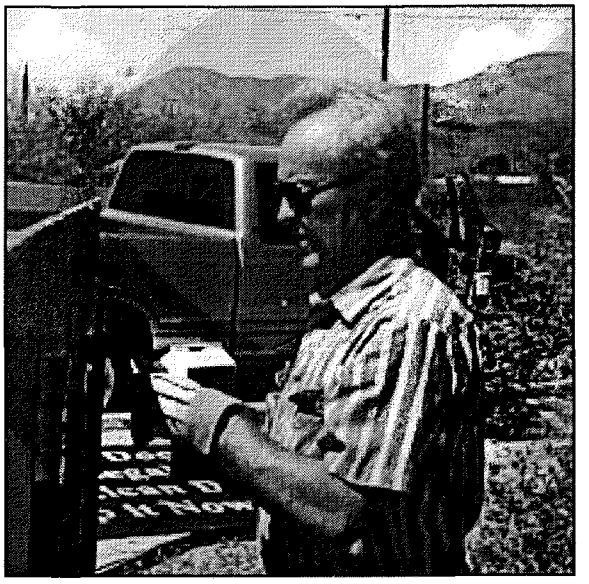
of public safety?

RB: It seems like they are doing, I think, some good. They stop every car they can. They take the car away because it is an unlicensed driver with no insurance, no registration. From what I can determine they are doing a better job than the sheriff's officers.

TSC: So what you're saying is, if the department of public safety finds reason to make a stop on a vehicle that turns out to be operated by an unlicensed illegal alien, who maybe has illegal aliens in the vehicle with him, they at least take the vehicle off the road, whether or not they are actually able to handle the illegals themselves as far as the custody situation. Is this what you're saying?



Roger Barnett

RB: Yes. I can't think of any time lately where the border patrol has not responded and have not taken them.

TSC: These cars that are being used to smuggle illegals, once they are stopped, they are, of course, impounded so that they can't go back so the illegals can use them again. Is that right?

RB: They impound everything, but yes, they can use them again if the correct owner comes and can show that he is the owner of the car. He's got to come in there to the towing business and show proof of ownership with a legitimate ID card.

TSC: Well, I've heard stories that repeatedly the same owner will come in to claim the same car that has been stopped repeatedly by the border patrol for smuggling. Do they do any follow-up to get this car out of the hands of this owner who is obviously subsidizing this smuggling activity?

RB: They try to track the titles and everything; they go and do that. They are putting cases together where they can go out there and they are talking about seizing their houses, seizing all their cars or whatever assets they have under the asset or forfeiture law or RICO.

TSC: Haven't there been repeated cases where rental cars are used to smuggle? Do the rental agencies get away scott free, or do they have to be responsible?

RB: No. Just the other day someone came down to pick up a car for a rental agency. He told us the reason that they rent to them is that they make a $4,000 deposit if it looks like it is going to be an alien smuggling deal. If they turn it back in, they get the deposit back. If they don't turn it back in, if they're towed or picked up or whatever, and Sabens has to come down to reclaim it themselves, there is $4,000 forfeited.

TSC: In your towing business here in Sierra Vista, I take it that you are frequently called by many of the law enforcement agencies including the border patrol to come and pick up vehicles that they have stopped and removed the illegal aliens from it, and you take it to your place of business. Is that correct, you tow it?

RB: Yes, I do. In fact, I think every towing service in town does that. I think they are all on the list.

TSC: Roger, I've heard that one of the practices is that the coyotes, the smugglers of illegal aliens, will give these vehicles to a driver who then takes them up to Tucson or to the Phoenix area, for instance, where the aliens are deposited, and then are moved on elsewhere around the country, and the coyotes then send other vehicles or a truck or a towing service up to those places in Tucson and Phoenix to pick up those automobiles and bring them back. Are you familiar with anything like that?

RB: Yes. In fact, yesterday, you remember, when we were on the road there were two semi-trucks and

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trailers — car carriers. The first truck had wrecked cars on it. I don't know what that was all about. But the second one had cars that they had picked up in the Tucson or Phoenix area, and they were bringing them back for a load for another trip.

TSC: I also read an article fairly recently that pointed out that a 1999 Ford Explorer had been stopped by the New Mexico State Police that was hauling illegal aliens. I believe they were going to Houston, and when the highway patrol ran a license check on the vehicle, they found out it had been stolen from a car lot in Mesa, Arizona, and that they also learned that there had been twenty other vehicles stolen from that same lot in recent weeks. Do you run into any situations like that?

RB: Yes, in fact the number you got is wrong. I had one, it was a '98 Chevy Tahoe. Just prior to my obtaining title, two law enforcement agents came in. I think they were with the department of public safety. They determined that it had been stolen from this car agency out of Mesa or the Phoenix area. This recovery for them was number 50 or 60. I think they had close to 80 they were missing out of this car lot.

TSC: Roger, you said that this has been going on in such a way that you have personally been affected by it for two-and-a-half years. I know there has been a lot of national publicity and there have been foreign correspondents here to visit with you. What happens when there is a lot of media attention focused on this such as television crews coming in and airing the program? Is there anything that happens as a result of those interviews and all that publicity from a standpoint of further government activity? Is there more border patrol activity with regard to trying to stem the tide?

RB: Oh yes. What they do is, if they find out a news agency is going to be here, they seem to put an extra bunch of agents in the area where they think the news agency might go. And they try to keep the aliens from coming through so the news agency can't see the numbers. They said they've got it probably 80 percent contained. But I don't think so. I think maybe they have it 20 percent contained and the news agencies felt they were being lied to.

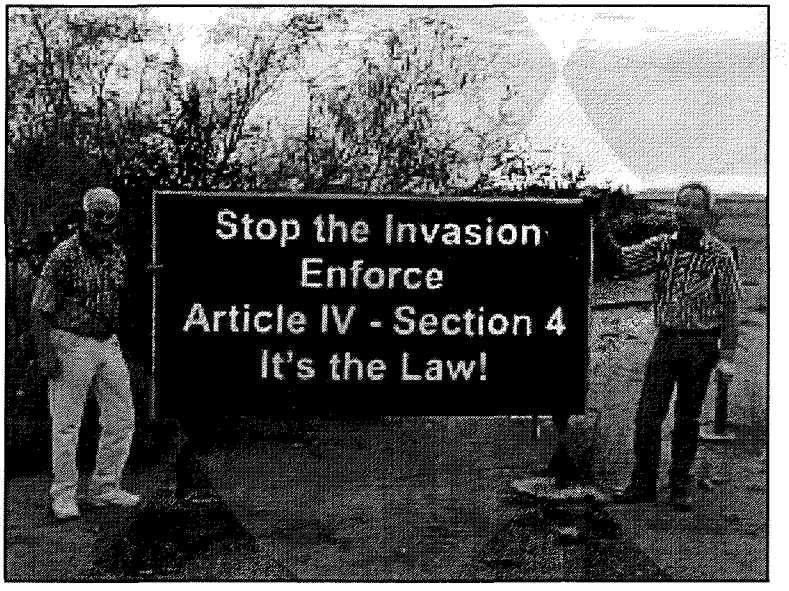
TSC: You're saying that the reporters didn't believe the border patrol telling them that they had contained illegals in a certain area?

RB: That's right, yes.

TSC: Based on what they had seen?

RB: I don't think by what they had seen, but from what different people have told them.

TSC: This situation in Cochise County has evolved since you first got started in this, and it seem that the press had quite a lot to do with that. You started out by having the border patrol come out and pick up these illegal aliens on your property. You suffered name-calling in the press. They called you a vigilante and worse. You were actually threatened by the U.S. Attorney with indictment for violating civil rights and threatened by the Mexican government. And then it just seems like last year when the news coverage reached a peak, that things changed in Cochise County and the government all of a sudden decided they wanted you for a friend. They stopped calling you names, they started complimenting you for rescuing people out in the hot desert, and promised a lot more agents to come in. Isn't it true that the number of agents has doubled in Cochise County in the last year



Robert Park helps Roger Barnett erect a billboard in Cochise County.

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or more?

RB: Oh yes, it has doubled in the last year or better. What is amazing is they should be picking up more illegals. They are up to close to 500 agents now, I believe, and they are still only picking up a thousand a day. So I think there is something wrong with the numbers.

TSC: But they certainly seem to be able to put on a maximum effort whenever there is a celebrity that's being followed by a news crew. They seem to be able to do the job at that point.

RB: That's right.

TSC: What is your personal relationship with these border patrol agents? When you meet up with them on your ranch, what kind of response do you get?

RB: The ones that are deployed from different areas? The other day there were two from San Diego in an unmarked patrol car, and we were glancing out there to see what the horses were looking at. They stopped and wanted to know who we were, and we told them. They had heard about me, and they seemed like they were real receptive to me. They said now we can go back and say, "Hey, we met Roger Barnett." Some of these agents are receptive of what we do. Other ones just don't like it at all.

TSC: Even if some are ambivalent about catching illegal immigrants, they all seem interested in the help you and Don can give them in finding the drug traffickers. They check information with you and they ask you "have you seen this in the past," because they are interested in stopping the drugs.

RB: Yes. Some are that way, I mean it's just a very few, but those are the ones that are usually working on the drugs.

TSC: Ron Sanders, the recently retired chief border patrol agent who was in charge of this sector estimates there is going to be 250,000 pounds of drugs coming through Cochise County this year. Hasn't Cochise County been designated a High Intensity Drug Trafficking Area (HIDTA)?

RB: I would think so, yes, because it's so easy to get through with the enforcement they have on it.

TSC: If the sheriff's department is ambivalent about policing the illegal aliens, what's their response in terms of drugs? Do they give you any idea they will try to use this HIDTA money that they've got from the federal government to track down these drug traffickers?

RB: Not that I know of. It seems that after they got that drug money, that's when their response to the illegal activity went down. I mean he [the sheriff] got his money now so what does he need to do, at least that's my opinion on it.

"Ron Sanders, the recently retired chief border patrol agent who was in charge of this sector, estimates there is going to be 250,000 pounds of drugs coming through Cochise County this year."

TSC: Roger, from my own observations, I find that illegal aliens and drug smuggling and trafficking go pretty much hand-in-hand. What has been your experience in that regard?

RB: That's what the border patrol says, but I couldn't prove it one way or another. I wouldn't base it with me, because people coming across, if they are charging anywhere from $600 to $1,000 per person in that group; they've got anywhere from 26 up to 32, 35, 40, whatever they bring across. That's easy to figure. That's anywhere from $24,000 to $40,000 for smuggling people, and it's not as dangerous. If you get caught on that, they usually turn you loose, unless you get caught maybe six or eight times. And that way you get prosecuted, and your time in jail would be a lot less too, as opposed to smuggling drugs.

TSC: So that's the cost now to get from, say, Agua Prieta on the Mexican line to Tucson, approximately $1,000 per person?

RB: Yes, I think $1,000, that's part of the trip, but again too, I think that lands you in either Las Vegas, Los Angeles, or maybe Salt Lake City. I think on going to Atlanta or New York or Chicago, I imagine

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that would be more. Some people say that it costs about $600 to $800 to get to Phoenix. So there's been different numbers thrown out, but I can't confirm that.

TSC: You recently had a truck in your yard that you had towed to the border patrol that had, what was it, 70 or 80 illegal aliens?

RB: It was 74.

TSC: In the back of this truck? This is important for people to understand the scope of bringing in all these people. This is a multi-billion dollar business. This one truck with say 70 illegal aliens in it. One load, and that load is about a two-hour drive to Tucson. One load is worth $70,000 for that particular smuggler.

RB: That's correct. The truck was worth probably $10,000 and they never picked it up. It's still sitting there. It is a 1990-91 International, fairly new one, big box truck. The border patrol had trouble stopping it. The smuggler ran off the road up on an embankment and it tilted. Everybody in the back fell down and were trying to catch each other. And that guy got away, just ran away.

TSC: It seems that some of the things that we have heard, you can't really quantify, but there are certain things the smugglers are being openly helped with. For instance, the cell phone service in Agua Prieta. The Mexican telephone company down there have jacked their gain up so high that local telephones won't work. And the feeling is that this helps smugglers who are coming across into this country so that they can get their messages and make their connections.

RB: Oh yes, that's the way it is. I see quite a few cell phones in different cars, two-way radios, cheap ones. You can buy them in these catalogs, Cabela's or others. You can talk up to three to five miles away.

TSC: On Labor Day, a newspaper reported that you picked up 16 illegal aliens and notified the border patrol. They said that these people had been waiting in Agua Prieta for fifteen days before they came across. Is that any indication to you that there is so much of a demand and so much of a need for more coyotes to smuggle them across for these people that they have to wait two weeks for their turn in line to come across?

RB: It sure looks that way. I never thought of it that way, but then that's more than likely the problem. Or maybe that they are just waiting until t hey get enough money. Instead of collecting money afterwards, maybe they are going to collect money before. Because just like that article in the paper this morning, they're stealing each other's money and loads. So if they are paid before they cross that line, there will be less of a threat of getting kidnaped away from the other guy. And also that load of sixteen people: I found out this morning that two of them were OTMs (other than Mexicans). They were Colombians, I think. Also, too, I found out this morning that at Naco Station yesterday they picked up 140 to 160 OTMs, a lot from Cuba, trying to process them and trying to figure out what they are going to do with them.

TSC: Roger, with everything that has interfered with your life down here, with the heavy influx of illegal aliens coming across your property, and one thing or another, what is your attitude toward the illegal entrants?

RB: You look at them and see what their government has done to them. You can't hardly blame them, but again too, they need to stay home and lobby or fight, or whatever they need to do to get their government to

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make their life better down there. They sure are not going to make it better up here with all the hardships they have to face. But again too, I blame our government as well as the Mexican government for not taking care of the problems. Our government is bowing down to big business. Big business wants our government to let them keep coming through. So that's why they are doing it. The Mexican government, they want them to still come through. They come up here so they can send big bucks back home. The biggest culprits in the whole thing are the American government and the Mexican government.

TSC: You don't feel that the American government is taking care of their citizens or protecting them.

RB: No, they are taking care of big business more than they are taking care of their citizens. Because that's where the big money is. They are getting paid off. The citizens turn a blind eye just like the Mexican government is turning a blind eye to their citizens.

TSC: Well, how does business in America benefit from illegal aliens?

RB: From cheap labor, they don't have to pay higher labor costs, etc. They make bigger profits. Stockholders like that.

TSC: We've already mentioned the damage. The property owners around here are pretty upset with what is happening to their property. It seems the authorities are ignoring your property rights. What is your comment about that?

RB: They don't care. They feel I'm just one person. The next person down the road is just one person. They don't stop and think that there are thousands of people in this country that are affected. But they can't see that far ahead, I don't think. They feel our government has let us down.

TSC: There is also a considerable amount of actual crime, criminal activity associated with the influx of illegal aliens in Cochise County. Is that a correct observation?

RB: Yes it is. Even though they say there is less crime in Cochise County now than there has been in the last several years, I think there is so much vandalism, so much stealing going on with the aliens. I think a lot of people, are like me — whenever I get some damage done on my place, I never call it in. Things are not getting reported, not getting counted. It is something we've learned to live with. We should be calling it in, but there are a lot of people who don't do it. Nothing gets done about it.

TSC: Did you used to report this kind of vandalism and you quit doing it because you weren't getting a response?

RB: Yes, because all they do is take the report, and nothing gets done about it. They wouldn't go out there and do any enforcement or anything. We're on our own out here. If you called them, sometimes they would respond right away, and other times it takes up to two to three hours for them to respond.

TSC: Based on what you see and your knowledge of the illegal traffic and drug trafficking coming through Cochise County, do you think if local law enforcement — both the city, the towns in Cochise County, the county, the state, and the federal government working together — do you think together they could put up enough of a deterrent to stop this massive invasion through Cochise County?

RB: Maybe. I think they should all work together, but I've never seen them work together on anything other than illegal aliens. On crime and other stuff there is no communication. They don't know how to do it.

TSC: Roger, you clearly have political representation here from this part of Arizona. Have you gotten any satisfaction from your elected federal representatives, such as the two United States Senators, or the U.S. Congressmen from this area?

RB: They say they are doing things about it. They have never contacted me personally. I think they just

The October 2000 issue of *The American Spectator* features "Alien Crossings" by Glynn Custred, an anthropologist at California State University, Hayward which opens with this observation: "Ask ranchers along America's border with Mexico what's been going on and they'll say: 'Invasion.'"

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kind of white wash it. That's the only thing I can think of. They've got funds down here. They've got funds for the county. What they need to do is get the military down here, or the national guard to seal it up.

TSC: You mean with all the news attention that you have personally gotten in the last year or so, that neither your senator or congressman have bothered to contact you and ask you about your problem and get your point of view on it?

RB: No they haven't. No. Senator Kyl's office called and said he was going to come in on a Friday, and I was to meet him at the airport. He only had a few minutes. He wanted to talk to me and some other people. At the last minute, he canceled it. They said that there was a schedule conflict. That's what the deal was, they always had scheduling conflicts. I felt like I was a hot potato, or maybe a crazy nut or something like that.

"They're not living in my backyard, they are just running through my backyard to live in other people's backyards."

TSC: Were you aware of your senators or congressmen contacting anybody else in Cochise County who was having the same experience you are along the border?

RB: I don't think so. If they had, it hasn't been published or whatever. When Doris Meissner came here about a year ago, she only contacted a select few to meet with her, and I wasn't one of the few. I was put on the back burner. They just don't want to talk.

TSC: Roger, you and I and Rick recently visited a number of ranchers and business people here in Cochise County and offered to put up some signs on their property, which kind of expressed the sentiment and feelings of the people in this area. What kind of reception did we get?

RB: I think we got a real good reception. I mean they wanted the signs — they wanted to give us permission and were real receptive, I thought. They were almost joyous that we were there with them.

TSC: One rancher, Ms. Ruth Cowan, got very excited, and when we told her that we were going to put some signs up, what happened?

RB: She got out there and she was going to put it up herself and we said, no, we would. So she insisted on putting them up. She wants more.

TSC: She got on her cell phone and was calling neighboring ranchers to find where we could put signs on their property. What was the one that she particularly wanted more of?

RB: Yes, she wants the "high intensity drug trafficking area." She wants that sign.

TSC: That's the sign that at one time you had on your ranch. It says, "Notice, entering high intensity drug trafficking area." Is that correct?

RB: Yes that's correct. It stayed up for one week to ten days, and it got stolen. It's on someone's wall in their house now, I believe.

TSC: Do you have any signs along that line on your property now?

RB: Yes, I sure do.

TSC: For the Americans who read this story and are concerned about this problem, what would be your recommendation; what's your message to them?

RB: They need to wake up and notify as many people as they can. Let them know that if they want this country like it was years ago, they better start doing something about it.

TSC: I also heard you say to people that live in New York, and Michigan, and states distant from Arizona that they're just crossing your property, but they are going to live in your community.

RB: That's right. They're not living in my backyard, they are just running through my backyard to live in other people's backyards. They won't stick around close to the border because if they get picked up its too easy to be deported. This is not a fun thing for me, this deal. It is a taxing situation. It is so overwhelming, the trash they leave behind. We try to pick up what we can now, and it is just overwhelming. We pick it up one day, and the next day it's back again. The government needs to get with it, and they need to show the people, the citizens, that they are serious

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about this. If they ever get it stopped, I could get to enjoying life again. It uses up my weekend time, holidays, everything. The government is not taking care of my property rights. The city, the county, the state, and the federal government, none of them are. They have no respect for their citizens.

TSC: Roger, I think there was something in the newspaper recently that said you had an encounter with a group of 14 or 15 illegal aliens out on your property. Can you tell us what that was about?

RB: Yes. In fact, there were 42 or 43. We were watching them going around the perimeter of the fences in one of the pastures, and there were some two- or three-day old tracks. We started following them just to see where they led, and that gave us an idea of the next time — of where they might go — some intelligence or whatever. All of a sudden we came across some fresh tracks, and then I heard a racket and there was a bunch of aliens running. When I caught up with them they started running toward me. They begged me for water and told me they had been out there for a week, and they wanted to know who I was. I told them I was a rancher. They wanted to know where my cows were, and I said why? Because they were hungry, and wanted to eat one. I told them instead of doing that they should have chased rabbits, so they could get food from the rabbit, if they were quick enough to catch it. But I feel if one of my cows were out there, they would have attempted to kill it to eat it. I believe they were desperate because of their thirst. They weren't getting water from any well or anything, they were getting it from stagnant ponds. The water wasn't clear, it was reddish colored. That's what they were drinking. I had six gallons of water with me and they drank that water in just a little bit of time. I had about a dozen cookies with me, and they said they were awful hungry.

TSC: Is this an unusual situation where they actually would have killed one of your livestock?

RB: No, they haven't killed them before, at least I haven't found where they have killed them. I know some ranchers that have lost livestock. They just killed a calf and cut a quarter of it off, cooked the quarter and left the rest to spoil.

TSC: Thank you Roger. ■

Proposed Platform of the Green Party

Re: Immigration Policy Reform

We support the traditional right of the Chicanos to move freely across the U.S./Mexico border, a right that long pre-existed the U.S. takeover of jurisdiction in the Southwest.

The U.S./Mexico border should be recognized as a zone of bi-national interdependence where people are free to move for work, shopping and recreation. Most immigrants come to the U.S. in response to cyclical demands in the labor market.

Since labor demand drives the migration, most immigrants — legal or not — do not displace native workers. Keeping workers illegal just makes them more vulnerable to exploitation and illegal actions by employers. This makes them an attractive labor source which, in turn, increases their demand. This cycle of oppression and exploitation is the equivalent of a modern-day slave trade.

Seasonal labor demands country-wide should be allowed to be filled by foreign workers using work visas, with these workers subject to U.S. wage, tax and labor laws.

The Employer Sanctions provision of 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act should be repealed as ineffective. Bi-national unions and hiring halls should replace the illegal and exploitative activities of labor contractors.

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Is It An Invasion?

The Constitution's 'Invasion Clause' won't help

by Barnaby Zall

In the recent movie *Mars Attacks*, President Jack Nicholson calls out the American military to battle aliens invading from Mars. The earthlings can't do anything about the invasion for most of the movie. All their advanced technology is ineffective until a donut maker discovers that ancient recordings of yodeling literally explode the aliens. It may feel like the middle of that movie in some communities on our southern border.

Residents of southern border areas certainly feel that they are being invaded. At a July 24, 2000, meeting of the Cochise County (Arizona) Board of Supervisors, Chairman Mike Palmer estimated that 60 percent of the sheriff's patrol division resources are spent responding to problems related to illegal immigration. Murphy, "Supes award grant funds to ease local border woes," Sierra Vista [Arizona] *News*, Aug. 10, 2000, p.1, col. 2-3. The direct costs to the sheriff's department were $2,900,798. *Id.* There were other costs in health care, legal defense for indigents, and additional firearms needed to deal with high-powered arsenals used by smugglers. *Id.,p.3.* With unreim-bursed health care costs driving her hospital into bankruptcy, one administrator reported that the costs to Copper Queen Community Hospital have tripled in less than a year. The federal government generously reimbursed the County only one-fifth of its costs – a measly $778,000. *Id.,p.1.*

Perhaps Arizona ranchers beset by hordes of illegal immigrants crossing their lands could ask for federal assistance to set up huge speaker systems playing yodels or modern rock music? Music aside, it isn't likely that the afflicted ranchers and counties can easily make a federal case of it. The courts have repeatedly held that immigration and border protection decisions are "political," and they won't interfere.

At first blush, it seems clear that the U.S. Constitution should protect the ranchers, health care workers, and county governments against this heavily-armed invasion. After all, Article IV, Section 4 of the Constitution – known as the "Invasion Clause" – says: "The United States ... shall protect [the States] against Invasion." So why doesn't the Invasion Clause protect border areas from this invasion?

There are three highly-technical legal reasons:

- It's not the right kind of invasion;
- The federal government can choose not to act; and
- It's a "political question" which the courts won't touch.

Invasion

The Invasion Clause in the U.S. Constitution says "invasion," but it doesn't say what an invasion is. In a way this is odd, since, among the Founders, the topic of protection against invasion was one of the most important reasons to discard the old Articles of Confederation in favor of the new Constitution with a federal government. *See, e.g.*, "Debate in North Carolina Ratifying Convention, 24 July 1788," Elliot 4:15-26 (Statement of Mr. Davie: "The general objects of the union are, 1st, to protect us against foreign invasion; 2d, to defend us against internal commotions and insurrections; 3d, to promote the commerce, agriculture, and manufacturers, of America. These objects are requisite to make us a safe and happy people, and they cannot be attained without a firm and efficient system of union."); Story, *Commentaries on the Constitution*, Boston, 1833, § 481.

But the lack of a definition may have been because all the Founders knew, in the wake of the Revolutionary War and the predatory antics of States under the Articles of Confederation, what "invasion" meant. One of the few statements by the Founders about the Invasion Clause was by James Madison, in

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The Federalist No. 43, published January 23, 1788. Madison said:

> *A protection against invasion is due from every society to the parts composing it. The latitude of the expression here used seems to secure each State, not only against foreign hostility, but against ambitious or vindictive enterprises of its more powerful neighbors. The history, both of ancient and modern confederacies, proves that the weaker members of the union ought not to be insensible to the policy of this article.*

Thus, Madison included both invasions from foreign powers and from other States. This view was reiterated by Founder William Rawle, who used the example of a State which refused to "refer its controversies with another state to the judicial power of the Union." Rawle, *A View of the Constitution of the United States*, 2d Ed. Philadelphia, 1829.

Later the new Congress enacted a law providing for a militia, to be called up in the event of an invasion. Act of February 28, 1795, c. 101. That Act provided

> *that whenever the United States shall be invaded, or be in imminent danger of invasion from any foreign nation or Indian tribe, it shall be lawful for the president of the United States to call forth such number of the militia of the state or states most convenient to the place of danger, or scene of action, as he may judge necessary to repel such invasion. Id.*

This description of invasion was more narrow, dealing only with foreign nations and Indian tribes.

The Supreme Court interpreted this Act, following the War of 1812, in *Martin v. Mott*, 12 Wheat. 19 (1827), a case brought by a man who refused to enter the militia as required, but the actual issues involved the declarations by the governors of Massachusetts and Connecticut that they had the power to judge for themselves whether the militia should be called out. The Supreme Court held unanimously that

> *the authority to decide whether the exigency has arisen, belongs exclusively to the president, and that his decision is conclusive upon all other persons. . . . The power itself is to be exercised upon sudden emergencies, upon great occasions of state, and under circumstances which may be vital to the existence of the Union. Id.*

The Supreme Court noted that any abuse of the President's power would be corrected by elections or Congress's "watchfulness." *Id.* Thus, the definition of invasion was left to the President alone, and the Supreme Court said that any errors in judgment would have to be corrected by the political process.

"[In 1827] the Supreme Court held unanimously that 'the authority to decide whether the exigency has arisen, belongs exclusively to the President.'"

Of course, not everyone is enamored of the views of the Founders. Some people believe that invasion includes pollution and "greed." *See, e.g.* www.article4.com, *citing* Diamond, *If You Can Keep It: A Constitutional Roadmap to Environmental Security*, Brass Ring Press, 1996. Others believe that right now there is an "ongoing clandestine invasion" by space aliens who abduct and assault Arizonans. *Citizens Against UFO Secrecy v. United States*, U.S. District Court for Arizona, filed Sept. 1, 1999.

Courts, on the other hand, take a much more narrow view of the term "invasion," usually referring to Madison's *Federalist No. 43*. *See, e.g., Padavan v. United States*, 82 F.3d 23 [2d Cir. 1996] (rejecting claim by New York for federal reimbursement for costs of illegal immigration: "In order for a state to be afforded the protections of the Invasion Clause, it must be exposed to armed hostility from another political entity, such as another state or foreign country that is intending to overthrow the state's government."); *New Jersey v. United States*, 91 F.3d 463, (3d Cir. 1996)(rejecting same claim by New Jersey: Invasion Clause "offers no support whatsoever for application of the Invasion Clause to this case or for its reading of the term 'invasion' to mean anything

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other than a military invasion."); *California v. United States*, 104 F.3d 1086 (9th Cir. 1997)(rejecting same claim by California: "there are no manageable standards to ascertain whether or when an influx of illegal immigrants should be said to constitute an invasion.").

"...immigration is committed to the political branches. Every court to have considered whether immigration comes within the Invasion Clause has declared the question to be political and refused to step in."

Thus, except as described below, it would be unlikely that the afflicted areas in Arizona could get courts to consider the tremendous influx of illegal immigrants as an "invasion."

Federal Decision

As noted above, it is the President's decision to call something an invasion. The Founders considered calling federal protection into a State to be such an important decision that it was to be left to the President alone. *Martin v. Mott*. Oversight was to be by Congress and the people (through an election) *Id.*

The President does have the power to stop the influx of illegal immigration. Although Congress has "plenary" (complete) power over immigration, *Fiallo v. Bell*, 430 U.S. 787, 792 (1977), it has delegated the administration of immigration policy to the President and the Attorney General, in the form of the Immigration and Nationality Act, 8 U.S.C. §§ 1101 *et seq.* The Attorney General is principally charged with enforcing the immigration laws, with some duties undertaken by the Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 8 U.S.C. § 1103. Under Section 212(f) of that Act, the President may "suspend the entry of all aliens or any class of aliens" whenever he "finds that the entry of any aliens ... would be detrimental to the interests of the United States," 8 U.S.C. § 1182(f).

In 1997, Attorney General Reno announced a new policy to block illegal immigration by shifting more resources to border enforcement in "traditional illegal crossing and drug smuggling traffic patterns along the southern border." U.S. Dept. of Justice, "Strategic Plan, 1997-2002," September 1997, 17. The new policy was successful in blocking many traditional illegal entry patterns, but the policy did not provide enough resources to block nontraditional entry points. The results were that illegal migration shifted heavily to the ranches and deserts of southern Arizona.

But it's not as if the federal government is doing nothing, or is doing the wrong thing in stopping illegal immigration. The budget for the Immigration and Naturalization Service is over three billion dollars a year, with much of that money going to the Border Patrol. And the new border control policy has reduced illegal immigration (though by how much is still a matter of some contention).

So it's not likely that the border communities will be able to claim that the federal government is not doing anything to help them.

Political Issue

But the most important roadblock to using the Invasion Clause to force more federal assistance to border communities is the "political question" doctrine. Courts will not get involved in matters that are too political. And every court which has reviewed Invasion Clause claims has refused to intervene because the questions are too political.

At heart, the courts won't consider political questions because of the constitutional structure separating the three branches of the federal government: executive, legislative and judicial. Where the Constitution commits a policy area to the political branches of government, the courts won't step in, *Baker v. Carr*, 369 U.S. 186, 217 (1962).

As noted above, immigration is committed to the political branches, *Fiallo v. Bell*, 430 U.S. at 792. Every court to have considered whether immigration comes within the Invasion Clause has declared the question to be political and refused to step in. *See, e.g., Barber v. Hawaii*, 42 F.3d 1185, 1199 (9th Cir. 1994)(rejecting claim that federal government permitted "economic invasion" of Hawaii by Japanese); *Chiles v. U.S.*, 69 F.3d 1094, 1097 (11th Cir. 1995),

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cert. denied, 116 S.Ct. 1674 (1996)(rejecting Florida's attempt at same claim for reimbursement for costs of illegal immigration as other states mentioned above).

Is There A Way to Proceed?

So are the border communities simply out of luck? Can they ever get any relief from the federal government for the massive influx of illegal immigrants suddenly streaming across their property?

It would be a difficult road, but the way is not entirely blocked. There are two possible avenues available to them. The first, and most obvious, is political pressure. If, as the courts have decreed, this is a political question, then the solution is also political. There is no active constituency for illegal immigration in Washington (as opposed to those who either ignore or like illegal immigration or those who promote legal immigration), and a well-organized attempt to increase border resources might return some semblance of peace to the border communities.

The second method is to find a sympathetic judge who will let the border communities tell their tale and allow them some relief. This was the method used by the Haitian community in past years; the immigration laws blocked attempts by Haitian refugees themselves to get judicial review of federal policies requiring their deportation. But federal Judge James Lawrence King ignored the ban on judicial review – on the basis of a fiction that he was really hearing the claims of American citizens whose constitutional rights were violated by low-level officials. *Jean v. Nelson,* 472 U.S. 846 (1985), *aff'g,* 727 F.2d 957 (11th Cir.1984). Perhaps the border communities could convince another judge that their claims for violations are just as great as the Haitian communities'.

There are also legal grounds for this review which do not rely on the Invasion Clause. For example, the border communities might challenge the new enforcement policy as an illegal taking of their property, or as having failed a required procedural or environmental review. These constitutional or statutory rights will be mixed up with the political and policy questions which courts refuse to consider, but they might also entice an appropriate federal judge to take a chance on reviewing them. And a little-known secret of American constitutional law is that the choice of the original judge is critically important to establishing or contesting constitutional doctrines; federal judges' decisions are usually sustained on appeal. Thus, if the border communities can craft an appropriate and appealing legal case and find a sympathetic judge, they may well find some relief in the courts.

But as for using the Invasion Clause itself, it's not likely to be a fruitful exercise. ■

Defining 'Invasion'

It may come down to a question of numbers

by John Rohe

If fifty foreign paratroopers stormed the United States borders to seize a valued natural resource, we would readily recognize this to be an "invasion." Would it still be considered an "invasion" if their mission was to impose a foreign language upon our schools and democratic discourse? Would it be any less invasive if 50 armed storm troopers crossed the border to take the jobs of 50 underprivileged workers? What if their formal strategy was calculated to undercut minimum wages of the poor and to undermine employment standards for the American worker?

Should the definition become blurred when millions, rather than 50, illegally pierce the nation's border?

The United States Constitution employs the word "invasion" in three places:

> Article I, § 8 — "The Congress shall have the Power ... To provide for calling forth the Militia

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to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions;"

Article 1, § 9 — "...The Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it."

Article IV, § 4 — "The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion."

The Constitution does not define the word "invasion," but it brooks no compromise on one important point. Article IV, § 4 promises the United States "shall" protect every State in the Union against it. This is mandatory. It is not permissive. The United States has no choice. Under this Constitutional provision, it must "protect" every State in the Union against "Invasion."

By not specifically defining "invasion," the drafters relegated future interpreters to distill meaning elsewhere. In construing our Constitution, the courts look to commonly understood usage.

According to *The Barnhart Concise Dictionary of Etymology*, the words "invade" and "invasion" originated in Middle French and Latin:

> **invade** v. 1491, borrowed from Middle French *invader* to invade, and directly from Latin *invadere* go into, fall upon, attack, invade (*in-*[2]in + *vadere* go, walk).
> **invasion** n. Probably before 1439 *invasioun* assault or attack; borrowed from Middle French *invasion*, learned borrowing from Late Latin *invasionem* (nominative *invasio*) an attack, invasion, from Latin *invasus*, past participle of invadere INVADE.

The word "invade" originated in the Latin equivalent for "go into" or to "walk in." Violence and force are not necessarily contemplated by the original meaning of the word.

In a conventional text, the *American Heritage Dictionary, 3d Ed.*, the word "invasion" is defined as follows:

1. The act of invading, esp. entrance by force.
2. A large-scale onset of something harmful.
3. An intrusion or encroachment: invasion of privacy.

The verb "invade" is defined in the same dictionary with similar ambivalence on whether violence and force is required:

1. To enter by force in order to conquer.
2. To trespass or intrude; violate.
3. To overrun or infest.
4. To enter and permeate, esp. harmfully.

The 22-volume *Oxford English Dictionary, Second Edition,* relies upon authorities from as early as the 16th century in defining "invasion." The *Oxford* definitions are:

1. a. The action of invading a country or territory as an enemy; an entrance or incursion with armed force; a hostile inroad.

b. *fig.* A harmful incursion of any kind, e.g. of the sea, of disease, moral evil, etc.

c. *Path.* The spreading of pathogenic microorganisms or malignant cells that are already in the body to new sites.

2. Infringement by intrusion; encroachment upon the property, rights, privacy, etc of any one. Esp. in phr. *invasion of privacy.*

3. Assault, attack (upon a person, etc.)

4. *Ecology.* The spread of plant or animal population into an area formerly free of the species concerned.

The *Oxford* definition relies on the word "invade." According to the *Oxford English Dictionary, Second Edition,* the word "invade" is defined as:

1. *trans.* To enter in a hostile manner, or with armed force; to make an inroad or hostile incursion into.

2. *transf.* and *fig.* To enter or penetrate after the manner of an invader. a. Of a physical agent. b. Of sounds, diseases, feelings, etc.

3. *intr.* Or *absol.* To make an invasion or attack. Const. *on (upon, into)* and with *indirect pass.*

4. *trans.* To intrude upon, infringe, encroach on, violate (property, rights, liberties, etc.).

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5. To make an attack upon (a person, etc,); to set upon or assault.

6. (Latinisms): a. To enter, *lit.* and *fig.* b. to go, traverse, or accomplish (a distance). c. To rush or inter hurriedly in (a struggle, etc.).

The use of force is present in at least some of the definitions. Yet force, or even animosity, is not inherent in others. To the extent the definitions yield conflicting interpretations with respect to the element of force, the following questions might help resolve the ambiguity:

Does the definition depend on the resistance of the target nation?

If so, does force become manifest, and does an "invasion" occur, only if there is resistance at every point along a wide national border?

What if the means of force are present, but there is no resistance?

If the illegal entrant carries a gun but never finds the need to use it, does the entry qualify as a forceful invasion?

What if the illegal entrant is armed, yet strategically eludes border officials?

What if the illegal entrant is unarmed but disturbs the peace while eluding border officials?

What if the illegal entrant wields no weapons and professes to have no hostile intent but undermines national policies such as minimum wage laws, employment benefits, and tax laws?

Must the illegal entry be supported by formal action of another nation to be deemed an "invasion"?

Would 50 armed military personnel be deemed an invasion while 500,000 illegal immigrants from the same nation would not?

Definitions rest in the eye of the beholder. It might not seem invasive from the vantage of the person seeking access to cheap labor, even if the entrant is given to violence and is brandishing a firearm while crossing the border. The event becomes more invasive from the vantage of the underprivileged minority U.S. citizen being forced to compete with low wages and no employment benefits as a result of the illegal border crossing. Where we stand on the definition might depend on where we sit.

What might not seem invasive to some, strikes to the heart of the definition for others. Unless we are willing to consider the disproportionate representation of illegal aliens in U.S. prisons, the effect on U.S. jobs, labor standards, respect for our laws, the need for a common language to perpetuate a robust experiment in self governance, the welfare rolls, congestion, urban sprawl, and the depletion of national resources, then the border crossings might not seem invasive at all.

Sheer numbers are also relevant. An illegal border crossing by ten participants in a peace march might not be deemed to constitute an invasion. What if there are 100,000 marchers? One million? Two million? Would anyone refute that the illegal entry of one billion marchers constitutes an invasion? At some point the definition might depend on the number of entrants. Esoteric arguments about the definition of "invasion" could evaporate into nothing more than a squabble over numbers.

Some may see immigration as a dutiful way to alleviate population pressures in foreign lands. The annual net population gain (births minus deaths) in impoverished regions of the world is 80 million per year. If the United States were to accept this net gain for only 3 years, our population would almost double. Each and every U.S. citizen would soon recognize the imposition on our lives and resources as an invasion. Yet, by absorbing this dramatic net population gain, the congestion in impoverished and densely populated foreign lands would remain absolutely unchanged.

To perceive an "invasion" in the actions of even the peace-loving illegal alien requires us to connect the dots. By any definition, if it just doesn't feel invasive, it may not be deemed an "invasion." Perceptions will be influenced by whether there are 1,000, 100,000 or 1,000,000 illegal entrants per year. Unless a court can conveniently draw the association between an illegal border crossing and a valued aspect of the United States, it might not seem all that "invasive." ■

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Border Crisis in Arizona

Testimony by law enforcement and park service officials before Senator John Kyl

Edited by Wayne Lutton

On June 27 of this year, the U. S. Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration held a hearing on the emergency situation in Arizona. Chaired by Senator Jon Kyl (R-AZ), federal and state officials from Arizona described what is happening along the Arizona-Mexico border, where illegal aliens by the hundreds of thousands, as well as drug smuggling gangs, are sweeping into the United States. Border residents are threatened as never before.

In addition to the stress on local communities, the National Park Service testified on the negative impact of illegal immigration to our public lands. The human tide from Mexico has done extensive damage to parks and forests in southern Arizona, including the trampling of major vegetation, accelerated erosion, the setting of wildfires, and danger to wildlife.

The number of Border Patrol agents in the Tucson sector has increased from 287 in 1994 to approximately 1,400 today. But this is not nearly enough manpower to secure this part of our southern border. And the redeployment of BP personnel to Arizona has left other areas in the south and northern border with Canada increasingly vulnerable to intruders.

LARRY DEVER
SHERIFF OF COCHISE COUNTY, BISBEE, ARIZONA

The citizens of Cochise County are experiencing a challenge of unprecedented proportions. Each month, tens of thousands of illegal immigrants from all over the world pour across the 83 miles of international border we share with Mexico. Last year alone, almost a half-million illegals were apprehended in this zone. It is estimated that anywhere from 1 million to 3 million more escaped. This is a county with only 125,000 total population. Deemed "Cocaine Alley" by drug smugglers in the 1980s, Cochise County, Arizona is now the alien smugglers' and illegal entrants' corridor of choice in the entire country.

Virtually everyone who lives in or visits our area has been impacted by this mess in a very personal way. Our fences are cut, our water sources damaged or destroyed, our properties littered with tons of garbage, clothing and human waste. The San Pedro Riparian Area, designated by the federal government as critical habitat for several endangered species is so contaminated with this garbage that it may never recover. The same is true of our national parks, national forests, wildlife refuge and state and private properties as well.

Moms and dads can't leave their kids at school bus stops. Our highways are rendered dangerous by inexperienced drivers in unsafe vehicles. Hundreds of trespasses against our homes, our properties and upon our cherished quality of life occur daily. In some places we cannot even go out for a morning or evening walk without fear and trepidation. These are not conditions that are acceptable anywhere, much less in what should be a peaceful and tranquil rural American environment.

It is tempting to get wrapped up in the international aspects of the debate, but this is not my focus. Bureaucrats will tell you that Congress-members represent polarized constituencies that either want cheaper labor or don't; want free trade or don't; want open borders or don't. Clearly, the fact that individuals and families are compelled to leave their homelands for another place is a major cause of all this. Whether these people are fleeing from or flocking to, makes little difference to the immediate crisis. We are still being overrun, and paying dearly for the consequences.

This problem is not going away any time soon. I

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visit Mexico often. There I have witnessed a buildup of enormous infrastructure designed to support alien smuggling operations. These investments were not made with a short-term perspective.

So why here and why now? Simply put, what we are currently experiencing in Southern Arizona is the planned — yes, I say planned — consequence of the border enforcement strategy of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). Their terrain denial efforts in El Paso, Texas and San Diego, California have pushed these people to us. It was done on purpose. I can only speculate as to what the thought process might have been. I can tell you that those who plotted this strategy did not anticipate the resolve they would awaken in the people who call Cochise County home. Neither did they, apparently, consider the devastating social, economic and environmental impacts of their plan. And if anyone thought to involve us in the planning process — those of us who would be most directly affected — they certainly didn't follow through.

There are many reasons that Cochise County has long been a favored drug smuggling corridor. Our climate is mild. Just to our east and to our west the environment tends to be much more hostile. There are lots of water sources here — wells, ponds, stock tanks, and the San Pedro River. There is a lot of cover in remote places and, once across the border, there are hundreds of ways out of here accessing rural roadways that intersect major arteries into the heartland of this nation. And there are deeply entrenched smuggling networks that date back to the 1800s that continue to operate in and around this area.

The smuggling business is highly profitable. The smuggler has no regard for his cargo, only his profit. This depravity is illustrated by the surging number of deaths of abandoned immigrants (43 to date this year). For the smuggler there is little risk. The illegal immigrant risks everything.

While our federal government is failing to adequately defend our borders and protect our properties, it also claims a proprietary and absolute authority to do so. Authority requires responsibility which must be held to an equally absolute level of accountability. Yet, it is local government and service industries that continue to bear the full burden and the cost.

I wish to close with these remarks: First, it is the responsibility of the federal government to secure and maintain the integrity of our borders. It is the inadequacy and the absence of required law enforcement resources that forces responsible stewards of the land and homeowners to take up this charge in defense of their properties.

Second, it is absolutely unconscionable that any federal initiative or plan, such as that adopted by the INS, should be implemented without thorough and comprehensive review by local communities and authorities that will be predictably affected. To suggest that consequences such as those we are now experiencing are "unanticipated' or "unpredictable" borders on the absurd, and is a position that is self-serving and irresponsible.

Finally, the nation was recently astounded by the catastrophic fire in Los Alamos, New Mexico, that was caused by poor planning and inadequate preparation. The social, economic and environmental impact of the failure to adequately address the effects of illegal immigration along the Southwest border, and specifically in Souther Arizona, is much more pervasive, much more insidious, and will bear such more serious long-term consequences, as to demand your immediate attention.

Of all the damage being done, perhaps the greatest is the loss of confidence by our citizens that our government is willing or able to do anything about this situation. I ask you to join me in restoring that trust through immediate and decisive action. Thank you.

* * *

CHRIS M. ROLL, COCHISE COUNTY ATTORNEY

Illegal immigration through Cochise County has become one of the most serious problems that we face today. Our county has over eighty miles of common boundary with Sonora, Mexico. Each month, hundreds of thousands of migrants cross the border from Mexico into Cochise County in an attempt to reach destinations in the United States and Canada where they will readily find employment. This mass migration is taxing the limited resources of this community. The smuggling of human migrants into this country by ruthless "coyotes" and the activities of a growing number of border predators (robbers, rapists

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and kidnappers) has greatly increased border-related violence in our county. Much property damage and environmental damage is occurring simply as a result of the migration. Even federally protected and environmentally sensitive areas, such as the San Pedro Riparian National Conservation Area, are being damaged by this mass migration. Trash, human feces, unwanted trails and man-caused grass fires are some of the problems that impact that area.

The most troublesome of all consequences, however, are the human tragedies and social problems that are with us constantly. Once, our border community was tranquil, with Mexican and U.S. citizens living in a relatively harmonious state. Now, with the flood of migration continuing to flow after nearly two years, tensions are rising. Each new confrontation between groups of desperate migrants and frustrated property owners only brings us closer to a tragedy that everyone fears. Meanwhile, tragedies of another sort are occurring almost every day. With the summer heat has come a wave of deaths of migrants. Mislead by smugglers, or simply ill prepared for the distances and heat, deaths by dehydration and heatstroke have become far too common.

The irony of this situation lies in the fact that these deaths in the desert and the confrontations between property owners and migrants are occurring because the Border Patrol's strategy is working. This strategy has, without warning, funneled the vast majority of illegal immigration from Mexico through Cochise County. The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service implemented this strategy in response to calls for action by heavily populated communities like San Diego and El Paso. Now, by using checkpoints along our major highways, the Border Patrol is causing the smugglers to march the migrants for miles through ranches and back yards, riparian areas and mountains, and mostly at night. Once the migrants successfully run this gauntlet near the border, however, they have few worries. Once they are twenty or so miles north of the border, there is little chance that they will be apprehended. There seems to be little effort made to enforce our federal immigration policy in the heart of the nation, where the jobs are readily available.

* * *

FRANK D. ALVAREZ, CEO OF TUCSON MEDICAL CENTER and JOHN DUVAL, COO OF UNIVERSITY MEDICAL CENTER

We would like to testify regarding the financial losses that we are sustaining from the provision of emergency medical services to undocumented aliens. Tucson Medical Center (TMC) and the University Medical Center (UMC) provide all major trauma care regionally and are the largest providers of emergency services for Southern Arizona. Federal law (EMTALA) requires that we provide emergency services to injured or ill persons who are in the United States regardless of legal status and ability to pay for medical expenses. TMC estimates their annual cost for providing emergency care to approximate $5,000,000. UMC is facing an all-time high of uncollectable charges for care provided to foreign nationals of $7.3 million for fiscal year 2000. This amount is for hospital charges only, and does not include services provided by physicians. This has a profoundly negative effect on our financial well being. Our institutions cannot continue to incur these losses and remain viable.

Arizona is currently the major point of entry for many of the persons who are entering the country illegally. This is partially a result of increased enforcement measures in Texas and California. Many persons who enter do so in vehicles that are packed with large numbers of people. These vehicles are often involved in automobile accidents, with resultant deaths and injuries to passengers. Other persons become ill from dehydration and exposure as they attempted to enter the country illegally. A number of these individuals have been apprehended by the Border Patrol and sent to our institutions for treatment. It is Border Patrol practice not to take these persons into physical custody or to arrest them, thus permitting the agency to take the position that they are not responsible for payment for the medical services that we are required to offer.

In medical emergencies, as a humanitarian gesture, it is a common practice for the INS to admit persons into the U.S. who do not have proper documentation, in order for those persons to obtain emergency medical services at a U.S. hospital in a border community. If that hospital cannot provide

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adequate treatment, these individuals are transported by helicopter or ambulance to UMC or TMC where we must provide them with care. We are including case descriptions with this letter that describe some of the patients whom we have treated after they were granted medial "parole" by the INS and allowed entry. These persons often require complex, expensive treatment.

Persons allowed entry for humanitarian reasons are waived across the border. Often one family member is allowed to accompany the patient. No documentation is kept and no time limits are set for the time period in which the patient and accompanying family member can stay in the U.S. for the treatment. On occasion, individuals have refused to return to their own community healthcare system. There also needs to be a source of payment for these patients.

* * *

JOSÉ DE JESUS RIVERA IS UNITED STATES ATTORNEY FOR THE DISTRICT OF ARIZONA

Thank you for the opportunity to describe to this committee the situation now facing the Southwest Border, particularly that part of the border located in southeastern Arizona near the town of Douglas.

During FYs 1998 and 1999, enormous growth in the numbers of illegal immigrants crossing into Arizona from Mexico fueled a parallel increase in criminal prosecutions, and intense pressure on the border communities. Despite efforts to restrain the surge in immigration and other illegal cross-border activities, the flood of illegal traffic across the eastern Arizona border with Mexico continues to rise. The impact of this traffic affects not only the areas adjacent to the border, but also reaches northward through Arizona into the nation's interior. Although Arizona has received additional resources to handle the situation, the current influx of illegal immigrants is overwhelming the federal resources available, and stressing the resources of state and local agencies operating in the border counties.

During the last five years, several forces acting in concert have changed the face of law enforcement on the Arizona border. Affecting both drug and immigration offense patterns, the Border Patrol strategy which included Operations Hold the Line (El Paso) and Gatekeeper (San Diego) squeezed illegal immigration and smuggling activities from the east and west, finally forming a pipeline through southeastern Arizona. Combined with economic factors, the result by late 1998 was and is a staggering number of illegal entrants traveling into and through the area near Douglas, Arizona. During FY 1999, Border Patrol in the Tucson Sector, which covers the Arizona border, except for the area around Yuma, apprehended over 470,000 persons for immigration violations. Tucson Sector apprehensions accounted for 31 percent of all apprehensions on the southwest border in FY 1999. This number is swelling to over 500,000 anticipated for FY 2000.

Re: Local impact — Residents experience property damage, home invasions, burglaries and other disruptions. As Border Patrol strengthened enforcement efforts in urban areas, illegal immigrants and the organizations that smuggle them into the United States have increasingly entered the United States in isolated rural areas. Large groups of immigrants trespass across private ranches and homesteads located near the border and on established routes as much as 70 miles north of the border. These groups cause the occupants of such isolated residences to feel unprotected. Residents have also experienced burglaries and property damage including slaughter of livestock, drainage of vital water systems and huge quantities of refuse left in the immigrants' wake.

The border area is becoming more violent. "Border bandits" attack groups of immigrants attempting to cross into the United States. Rapes, beatings and robberies by these criminals are reported with increasing frequency. Smugglers victimize their clients through robbery, sexual abuse and extortion.

In addition, more drug backpackers — individuals who carry backpacks of marijuana and other drugs from Mexico into the United States, usually operating in groups of five to ten — are found to be carrying firearms. In the last few years, drug backpackers murdered an outstanding young Border Patrol agent, have pointed guns at other Border Patrol agents, and have been caught with at least one automatic weapon.

Media attention has focused in recent months on local residents who have, on a number of occasions, detained illegal immigrants found on or near their

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property, then turned them over to Border Patrol. This activity has provoked strongly felt reactions from supporters of the residents involved in this conduct, and also by the Mexican government and other groups concerned about the rights and welfare of the immigrants.

When such an incident occurs, Border Patrol immediately notifies the district's border liaison, a senior assistant United States attorney who coordinates border-related matters. In every case, the border liaison, working with Border Patrol, ensures that local authorities are notified. Border Patrol agents and local law enforcement officers interview the detained individuals concerning the circumstances of their detention. The office regularly communicates with the Department of Justice Civil Rights Division to ensure that all possibilities have been considered. All information concerning the incident is made available to the local prosecutor's office for use in determining whether any violation of state law has been committed. The border liaison also ensures that the Mexican consulate has been advised. Consular representatives then have the opportunity to speak with the detained individuals.

Every effort is made to facilitate the speedy return of any Mexican detainees to their home country. Most are returned within 48 hours.

Re: Interior impact — Most illegal immigrants travel away from the border to join family members, look for work or for other reasons. Many of the convicted felons coming back to the United States can be expected to commit additional crimes in the communities to which they return.

* * *

WILLIAM E. WELLMAN, SUPERINTENDENT OF THE ORGAN PIPE CACTUS NATIONAL MONUMENT

The National Park Service would like to inform you of the impact undocumented alien traffic is having on the natural and cultural resources of Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument, on the safety and experience of visitors to the monument, and on park operations. There has been a steady and dramatic increase in numbers since the border was tightened in the San Diego area in 1995.

Undocumented alien traffic is a major threat to the natural resources of Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument. At least six major illegal migrant foot routes cross the monument totaling over 100 miles. Along these major routes compaction of the desert soils has occurred. In this arid environment, the resulting scar on the landscape will last centuries. On the steeper slopes accelerated erosion is occurring, particularly during the heavy monsoon rains. Vegetation is trampled, broken, carved and burned. Several wildfires are believed to have been caused by undocumented aliens. Numerous campsites are located in the washes along the routes and near Highway 85. An unbelievable amount of trash accumulates at the campsites. Vegetation is often removed either to clear a resting/sleeping spot or to fuel campfires. The site picked for resting areas are usually prime sites for regeneration of the large cactus, including the Organ Pipe Cactus for which the monument is named. All of the young cactus seedlings are destroyed and it may be years before climatic conditions are again right for a new generation of seedlings to grow.

The illegal immigrant traffic has negative impacts on wildlife as well. There is very little water in Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument. Most of the wildlife found here is well adapted to dry conditions and can normally survive on the small amounts of water available in the monument. We believe that now much of this essential water is being used by illegal immigrants. For shy animals, such as the Sonoran pronghorn, there is literally no place in the monument they can go to escape human presence because of the illegal traffic and several of the immigrant campsites are located near endangered pygmy owl nests.

Degradation of cultural resources is also occurring because of the illegal traffic. Some historic ranch structures have been partially dismantled for firewood and one structure at Bates Well ranch site has been totally destroyed by fire.

Many visitors to the monument worry about encounters with illegals. We are receiving increasing numbers of calls from potential visitors asking if it is safe to visit the park. Instances of border bandits crossing into the park from Mexico to prey on park visitors and then flee back across the border are increasing and drug smugglers pose a real threat to park visitors.

Even though Organ Pipe Cactus National

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Monument contains 312,000 acres of congressionally designed wilderness, there are few places that visitors can go in the monument without seeing evidence of human use: trash, footprints, vehicle tracks, human feces and toilet paper, abandoned clothing, and, most commonly, abandoned plastic water jugs. Pristine Sonoran desert and vast areas of solitude — the very reasons the monument and wilderness were established — are being lost.

* * *

JOHN MCGEE, FOREST SUPERVISOR,U.S.D.A.

The Coronado National Forest is unique in that it is the only National Forest located on the international boundary with the Republic of Mexico. The extreme elevation and ecological zone variations in the 12 mountain ranges of the Coronado make them unique among National Forest lands in North America, resulting in very high diversity of plants, animals, climate, and geography. The matchless biodiversity occurring on the Coronado National Forest has been the basis for international relationships and cooperative agreements in natural resource management and the management and introduction of threatened, endangered, and sensitive species of both plants and animals.

Multi-billion dollar international smuggling organizations routinely use Coronado National Forest roads, trails, developed recreation sites, high-value dispersed recreation areas, and administrative sites as routes and way-points integral to the smuggling activity.

The Coronado National Forest leads all Forests in the nation with impacts from international drug smuggling. Forest Service law enforcement officers seize thousands of pounds of marijuana each year.

All enforcement agencies surrounding the Coronado National Forest have experienced quantum increases in funding and personnel. These increases have diverted even more smuggling activity to the Coronado National Forest. Recent events on the Forest include intimidation of visitors and employees, intentional ramming of Forest Service vehicles, and the murder of a cooperating law enforcement officer while working on the Coronado National Forest.

Controlled substance smuggling on the Coronado National Forest compromises public and employee safety, increases associated crimes, including crimes against people and property, and increases accidents producing injury, death, and property loss to those engaged in the illegal activity and to innocent bystanders.

International smuggling on the Coronado National Forest impacts the Coronado's ability to redeem our responsibility and effectively administer the Forest by creating conflicts with permitted uses, destruction of improvements including damage to existing trails and roads and creation of new trails and roads, and resource damage, including damage to watershed, damage to riparian areas and water sources, sanitation problems, garbage, human waste, and increases in human-caused wildfires.

* * *

JESSE JUEN, FIELD MANAGER, BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT, TUCSON FIELD OFFICE

The purpose of this briefing paper is to provide information regarding undocumented immigrants crossing the international border between Sonora, Mexico, and Arizona, specifically in southeastern Arizona.

It is becoming increasingly evident that public land resources, employees, and the public are being severely impacted by the volume and intensity of undocumented immigrants crossing the border each day. While the problem is occurring along the entire border, two very special areas are being critically impacted, the San Pedro Riparian National Conservation Area and the proposed Las Cienegas National Conservation Area.

RESOURCES AND FACILITIES IMPACTED: Wildfires are a big problem, especially along the San Pedro, where about 20 percent of the riparian vegetation has been destroyed by wildfires over the past two years, with some of these fires caused by warming fires out of control. Toilet paper and, worse yet, human excrement, is common. Trash such as water bottles, food wrappers, flagging and clothing litter the corridor. Use and abandonment of transport vehicles in areas that are closed to motor vehicles have resulted in a proliferation of two-track roads, cut fences which allow cattle trespass, and resource damage from cross-country vehicle use as well as salvage and removal. Vehicle traffic down steep embankments is creating

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erosion and sedimentation concerns that will be exacerbated as Arizona approaches its monsoon season. Riparian vegetation has been destroyed and in many cases, oil and fuel have leaked into the stream, an endangered species habitat. Fences and gates are constantly breeched, run over, and otherwise destroyed. Trails and campsites are randomly distributed and common. Bureau facilities including quarters, storage sheds, and workshops are continually vandalized and material stolen by immigrants.

EMPLOYEE SAFETY COMPROMISED: Employees cannot travel to do fieldwork without the fear of encountering immigrants, who sometimes ask for food or water. As a result, they often travel in pairs to conduct fieldwork to increase individual safety. This diminishes our efficiency and effectiveness greatly.

PUBLIC CONCERNS VOICED: The public is becoming fearful of camping on public lands due to the traffic of immigrants coming through, with reports of over 100 passing through a campsite one night. There have been thousands of undocumented immigrants detained and apprehended, and an unknown quantity of narcotics is actively moving through the area, which poses an additional risk. Vandalism, rape, and theft have also been reported.

The continued degradation of resource conditions within these areas is stripping away the values for which the RNCA and proposed NCA were created. The need to address the situation is critical.

* * *

JAMES K. BELLAMY, SUPERINTENDENT OF THE CORONADO NATIONAL MEMORIAL

Coronado National Memorial is a unit of the National Park System located on the border with Mexico in southeastern Arizona. It consists of 4,750 acres of oak woodlands and grasslands at the southern end of the Huachuca Mountains, and shares 3.5 miles of border with Mexico. The location is conducive to the entry of undocumented immigrants, which has occurred here for many years and is ever increasing.

The National Park Service is mandated to preserve the natural and cultural resources in the parks unimpaired for the present and future generations.

1. To what extent have illegal immigrants had an impact on the Coronado National Memorial, for example, with respect to damage to natural resources and property?

Illegal immigrant traffic through the park has grown dramatically this year. This growth is difficult to quantify. I think an estimate of a 300 percent increase over the past year would be fairly accurate. In 1998, park rangers detained or assisted U.S. Border Patrol in the detention of 80 undocumented immigrants in Coronado National Memorial. In 1999 the figure was 207 undocumented immigrants. In just the first five months of 2000 the figure was 390 undocumented immigrants. This figure can be extrapolated to 629 by the end of the year 2000, taking into consideration that 62 percent of the detentions during the previous year occurred in the first five months. The majority of illegal immigrants that enter the park are not apprehended due to the sheer numbers of entrants and the workload of Border Patrol officers and our rangers.

This activity has significantly impacted park resources. Human foot traffic has created several trails the width of one-lane roads. The large numbers of people have destroyed vegetation, exposed bare ground, eroded steep hillsides, and caused scars that will take years to heal. Litter covers the ground in many places, particularly plastic water bottles, food containers, discarded clothing and blankets. Conditions are very unsanitary in many places due to the amount of human feces and toilet paper.

2. To what extent, if any, has it created safety problems for both visitors and staff?

The potential for serious encounters is high. Drug smugglers often mix in with illegal immigrants, and the drug smugglers are much more prone to violence. Some illegal immigrant smugglers (coyotes) also smuggle drugs. The park has had one case of an assault on a female visitor by suspected drug smugglers.

Additional safety hazards to both visitors and staff are those posed by speeding vehicles transporting illegal immigrants, and the potential of wildfires from cigarettes and warming fires. ■

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Re: Illegal Immigrants

What can be done?

by Michael Scott

Nine years ago, I accidentally stumbled upon a botched illegal immigration operation on a nearby Southern California beach — in broad daylight. Nearly one-hundred illegal immigrants were hiding in a few tiny gullies, partially protected by a cadre of lookouts, presumably waiting for transportation to get them to their destinations. Neither the local police nor Los Angeles INS showed much concern. This resulted in my researching the background and realities of illegal immigration, and the more I learned, the worse it got. We've got a ticking time bomb on our hands, made worse by legions of government officials who just slumber on, or push their heads deeper into the sand to curry favor with those who support this relentless invasion. Just as bad, lots of Americans have been sucker-punched into inaction by threats of being called "racist," "bigot" and sundry yada yada.

> Just remember folks, the only card your opponents hold in their hands is the race-baiting card, the threat of calling you a racist or a bigot.

Then, a year ago, I had a conversation with Arizona rancher Roger Barnett, whose property is under year-round siege by hordes of illegal aliens. His Chochise County border sector is overwhelmed by about 475,000 illegal aliens annually. Although Barnett has apprehended over 1000 illegal aliens on his property and turned them over to the Border Patrol, he's anything but a vigilante. Roger has lived in Douglas, Arizona all of his 50-some years, and is infuriated by the on-going destruction of his property caused by incessant swarms of illegal immigrants, as well as by the repeated failures of the INS to stem this relentless flood. Barnett and his neighbors have had it with an unmerciful stealth migration that generates mountains of rotting garbage, piles of discarded diapers, food containers and plastic water bottles, and sundry filth everywhere — exacerbated by the stench of excrement, poisoned (or throat-slit) pets and livestock, torn down fences, and lots of stolen property that wasn't tied-down.

Of special ire is Barnett's 80-year-old widowed neighbor who lives behind her chain-link fence, with a shotgun and pistol always near by, and who's afraid to come out at night and challenge the hoards who have ruined her crops and garden, and made her a virtual prisoner in her own home. She's afraid to buy more guard dogs since the last two were poisoned, probably by "coyotes."

One look at the ravages of illegal immigration in California is enough to make most Americans sick. At least 40 percent of the nation's 6 million illegal immigrants are here. From a base of 2.4 million illegal immigrants already present, they just keep coming — 120,000 net new illegals each year into California (300,000 nationally), and the horrendous social costs just keep rising. There are 408,000 illegal immigrant K-12 students to educate at a cost to California taxpayers of approximately $2.2 billion annually, for example. Never mind that these students can't work, drive or vote once they graduate, unless they obtain fraudulent documents.

Taxpayers subsidize 96,000 illegal immigrant births in statewide county hospitals (200,000 nationally) at a yearly cost of $352 million. Then we have annual AFDC (TANF) costs for these new citizen children of nearly $552 million. Add another $557 million to incarcerate 23,000 illegal alien felons in California, plus $60 million health care costs for various services, and we're over $3.7 billion annually — out of our pockets, and against our overwhelming opposition to such outrages.

***Michael Scott** is a Southern California business man who is "fed up with illegal immigration."*

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Eliminating this brutal migratory devastation involves two basic actions, enforcing our own immigration laws, and accepting the ugly reality that "we've met the enemy and it is us".

Three fundamental law enforcement steps must be taken to break the back of illegal immigration. First, our borders must be sealed. No more baloney about how difficult this might be. The INS instituted a Border Patrol crackdown six years ago in the El Paso sector, and then took it to San Diego a year later. In 1993, 90 percent of all illegal aliens crossed at border cities. Today, two-thirds cross in remote areas. Six years ago in the San Diego sector, 42 percent of all illegals surged through a 14 mile corridor near Imperial Beach. Another 22.6 percent entered in and around El Paso. Both sectors are now almost impregnable, as these flows have become trickles. So today's illegals are going where it's easier to get across, like Douglas, Arizona. The inescapable conclusion is that the crackdown has succeeded where sufficient resources have been applied. This isn't a matter of insufficient resources or wherewithal, it's a matter of insufficient willpower, as well as a writing-off of those individuals and organizations who want illegal immigration to succeed.

"The next critical law enforcement step is to prosecute employers who hire illegal aliens."

The next critical law enforcement step is to prosecute employers who hire illegal aliens. The Justice Department is hardly lifting a finger in this area. If there were no jobs, most illegal aliens would leave, or most wouldn't come in the first place. The fantasy of illegal immigration cheerleaders that the economy would collapse without illegal labor simply doesn't wash. Since when don't we enforce laws (or break them) in accordance with our own standards of right and wrong? I sometimes speed on California interstates, and I'm prepared for the fines if caught. But this doesn't excuse me from punishment, nor the CHP from enforcement.

This baloney about the need for "guest workers" is pure bunk. Both the California Division of Labor and the GAO have confirmed there are currently two farm workers for every agricultural job in California. This glut of farm workers has depressed agricultural wages over the past twenty years, in inflation adjusted terms, by 20 percent, and spawned deplorable working conditions.

Job opportunities for low-skilled workers have been declining for three decades. The continued influx of low-skilled, uneducated immigrants has depressed earnings and limited opportunities. Income disparity has widened as a result of too many low-skilled workers pursuing too few jobs.

A University of California (Davis) agricultural economist (and several other noted researchers) published "Poverty Amid Prosperity," a compilation of research findings on "The processes of immigration and its unexamined impacts on cities and towns." (July 1997; The Urban Institute Press) They offered the following analysis (on pp. 89-90) of the impact of farm worker wage increases on both grower expenses and the price of food:

> *And suppose that the entire cost of higher farm wages is passed on to consumers, so that the annual cost of the farm labor used to produce the fresh fruit consumed by the average American household rises from $8.60 to $13 and the cost of farm labor rises from $10.20 to $15. If these increased farm labor costs were completely passed on to consumers, spending on fresh fruits and vegetables eaten at home for a typical 2.6 person consumer unit would increase by less than $10, from $270 to almost $280.*

I'd welcome the opportunity to pay higher consumer prices to rid our land of illegal immigrants. We'd lift an enormous financial albatross from our backs, and provide better educational opportunities for thousands of American kids to receive the full attention of teachers in schools crowded with the children of illegal immigrants.

Finally, to address perhaps the biggest lie of all — that Americans won't do the work that illegals perform, the truth is that uneducated and unskilled Americans won't live in garages with multiple

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families, and endure similar hardships to take on backbreaking work at below minimum wages. Get rid of illegal immigrants and wages would have to rise to attract those native-born and legal residents who lack the skills and education to do much else.

About deportation. With the exception of illegal alien felons incarcerated in various prisons, and those illegals caught by the border patrol, (at the border) deportations are virtually nonexistent. Yet there are six million illegal aliens in this country. We could make a huge deportation dent in this stealth population if we only had the commitment and determination to do so. Once again, it's a national administration attempting to curry favor with the wrong people.

About, "we've met the enemy and they are us," some conservatives and liberals support Cardinal Roger Mahony's statement, "the right to immigrate is more fundamental than that of nations to control their borders" — conservatives because they get their jollies from exploiting cheap labor, and liberals because it gives them another opportunity to smother someone with compassion. Added to these afflictions are the wishes of politicians to get reelected by ducking issues, and the hidden agendas of opportunists and ideologues to advance their causes.

As we speak there's a shameful piece of legislation on the California Governor's desk (AB 1463) to allow illegal aliens to obtain driver's licenses. This "breeder document" gives illegals a huge advantage in obtaining other documents to make them appear legal. The bill was sponsored by Assemblyman Gil Cedillo, who, among other amazing utterances, says that, "the undocumented were here first."

Let's look at California's Proposition 187. This was a 1994 ballot initiative that barred illegal immigrant access to public social services, including education and public health care services, except emergency care. In November of 1994, 59 percent of the California electorate voted for Proposition 187. Of California's 58 counties, 49 voted yes.

The day after Proposition 187 passed, a federal court in Los Angeles, and a state court in San Francisco barred enforcement of most of its provisions. A federal judge kept this bottled-up for nearly 3-1/2 years before voiding it. Immediately thereafter the State of California appealed the decision, but because a conniving governor was soon thereafter elected — a person opposed to Proposition 187 — he saw to it that the initiative never reached the Supreme Court through the appellate process.

Just before Governor Gray Davis strangled Proposition 187 in April, 1999, he said with the most angelic of faces, "If this (Proposition 187) were a piece of legislation, I would veto it. But it's not. It's an initiative, passed by nearly 60 percent of the voters through a process specifically designed to go over the heads of the legislature and the governor. If officials choose to selectively enforce only the laws they like, our system of justice will not long endure." Davis then walked off the press conference stage and betrayed the people of California by stabbing them in the back.

"The bill [to grant illegals driver's licenses] was sponsored by Assemblyman Gil Cedillo, who, among other amazing utterances, says that, 'the undocumented were here first.'"

Let's look at the Citizenship Clause of the 14th Amendment which states, "All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside." But as the framers of that amendment made clear, not all persons in the United States were subject to its jurisdiction. American Indians and former slaves were the only substantial groups of non-citizens living in America in 1866. While the 14th Amendment conferred citizenship upon blacks, it didn't grant citizenship to American Indians in 1866 because it was believed they owed allegiance to their tribes and not to the United States. It wasn't until 1924 that Congress extended citizenship to all Native Americans.

Is it reasonable to believe that the authors of the 14th Amendment, in excluding citizenship for Native Americans, were making special allowances for any

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woman on this planet who sneaks under a U.S. border fence and delivers a baby? Is it rational to assume that those who actively defy the laws of the United States by illegal entry were granted the constitutional right to confer citizenship upon their children? Does it make any sense to believe that the 14th Amendment extended to the children of illegal aliens what it didn't extend to Native Americans? Since the answer to all these questions are obvious, it's clear that illegal alien under-the-fence maneuvers in 1866 weren't considered by the authors of the 14th Amendment to be a significant problem.

This was borne out when the Citizenship Clause was debated by the U.S. Senate on May 30, 1866. During that debate the issue of sneaky citizenship was raised. The Senate took the position that citizens of the U.S. were also citizens of a state, and if a state chose to deny citizenship to infants of parents, for cause, they could do so. Now times have changed, but it's crystal clear that the framers of the Citizenship Clause never intended that infants born in the U.S. to foreign ladies sneaking under American border fences should become U.S. citizens. Clearly, the 14th Amendment never extended to the children of illegal aliens what it didn't extend to Native Americans.

"This issue of under-the-fence-citizenship for infants born to those criminally present in the U.S. has never been before the Supreme Court."

Beyond these annual 200,000 under-the-fence additions to our population that are unattributed to immigration, there lies a demographic time bomb with a twenty-one year fuse. It's called the Anchor Baby Syndrome. A main reason for coming to the U.S. to give birth is to jump the immigration queue, since the mother and her family are then related to a U.S. citizen. This allows the citizen-child at age 21 to petition for the admission of parents, brothers and sisters, their spouses and own children, and so on.

Do we have cause to stop these absurd practices? Sure we do because they violate the intent of the statute, the will of the people, and are hideously expensive — nearly $1 billion annually for 96,000 infants, just in California for just a single year. Considering the prodigious reproductive feats of many child bearing illegal immigrant women, the total costs for chain births stretching over periods of years are probably in the mega billions.

This issue of under-the-fence-citizenship for infants born to those criminally present in the U.S. has never been before the Supreme Court. Rep. Brian Bilbray of California is fighting an uphill battle in Congress to end these outrages.

Then there's the shameful AFL-CIO clamor for amnesty for 6 million illegal aliens, hoping lots of them will become union members. The AFL-CIO is attempting to line their pockets with membership dues over the short run, while rolling the dice with the futures of American workers. All this will do is end control of our borders and unleash terrible wage depression pressures on millions of American workers as hordes of foreigners surge across unprotected borders looking for American jobs.

We've clearly become our own worst enemies and will suffer a terrible fate unless we end this madness. A series of national administrations have buried their collective heads in the sand and ignored the acrid odors of the white hot burning fuse attached to the illegal immigration time bomb. There just aren't enough Roger Barnett's around, and that's what's necessary for us to retake our country. Just remember folks, the only card your opponents hold in their hands is the race-baiting card, the threat of calling you a racist or a bigot. But the collective votes of an ignored and aggrieved articulate voting population are the strongest cards of all, and if you chose to play them, it's a slam-dunk for the good guys.

Illegal immigration is repudiated by our laws, by the facts, and by most Americans. So, one more time folks, let's seal our borders, deport all illegal aliens, prosecute any employer hiring illegals, throw the rascals out who live on the Planet Beltway and kowtow to the illegal immigration lobby, and begin to pay close attention to the calamity that awaits us unless we do all of these things. ■

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Arizona Ranchers Doing Government's Job

by Samuel Francis

Last week, the U.S. Senate voted to spend some $1 billion on behalf of the nation of Colombia, to help it fight drug dealers. The money will go to train Colombian police and military and equip them with helicopters and other fancy stuff. Meanwhile, as the senators spout and sputter over poor little Colombia and its problems, not a single one of them has done, or plans to do, anything at all to help protect the borders of their own nation and the citizens of their own country against invasion.

The invasion is taking place in Arizona, where some 72,000 illegal aliens tried to sneak across the border last March alone. The invasion has been going on now for more than a year (I wrote a column about it more than a year ago), and to this day not a single action has been taken by the federal government to control it. Nor has any major public office holder called attention to it.

The reason for the invasion, apart from the weakness of national leadership, is that border security against illegal immigration has in fact improved in many other places. More fences, more patrols, more technology and more personnel have made illegal entries harder. So the illegals simply go somewhere else to cross — namely, the Arizona border.

The illegals get thirsty and cut water hoses to drink from, so the water tanks of the local ranchers run dry. They get hungry, so they steal and slaughter cattle that belong to the ranchers, who find dead steers with only a few handfuls of flesh carved out of them. One local remarks, "My brother's ranch is like a garbage dump after the illegals come through. They leave behind tons of junk — dirty diapers, plus what's in those diapers. You really have to watch where you step. It'd take 100 trucks, and you still couldn't haul it all away." The *Washington Post* reports that the landscape is now "littered with empty water jugs, discarded clothes and human waste." The aliens also break into homes and steal food and money, and in at least one case last year murdered a law enforcement officer.

To this day, not only has the federal government done nothing to meet its constitutional responsibility of protecting the states against foreign invasion, but that paragon of good government, Sen. John McCain, who happens to "represent" Arizona, has totally ignored the situation in his own state. Nor, for that matter, has Gov. George W. Bush or Al Gore done or said anything about the invasion. Both are too busy pandering to the Hispanic bloc. Of all the presidential candidates this year, only Pat Buchanan has actually demanded government enforcement of border security and toured the border area in Arizona. Polls in the state show him at 18 percent, higher than anywhere else in the country.

But, while the U.S. government worries about the Balkans and Iraq instead of its own territory and citizens, and while U.S. senators worry about the sad future of Colombia, the locals in Arizona are learning how to protect themselves. For the last year they've been forming vigilante groups that patrol the border for illegals, round them up at gunpoint and turn them over to the Border Patrol.

"The ranchers here are tired of nothing being done about it," one rancher told the *New York Times* this week. "We're tired of the garbage they leave, We're tired of them tearing down our fences, We're tired of losing cattle. We're

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Samuel Francis, Ph.D. *is a nationally-syndicated columnist.* *© 2000, Creators Syndicate, reprinted by permission.*

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tired of losing our way of life." So far, the citizens' patrols have nabbed about 3,000 illegals, and even their leader, a local rancher named Roger Barnett, says that sooner or later there will be violence.

That, of course, is why it ought to be the U.S. government that enforces its own laws on its own border on behalf of the safety and rights of its own citizens. But it doesn't. Indeed, the Mexican government is jumping up and down about the ranchers' patrols for threatening its own citizens, and the Hispanic lobby is whining about the "blatant race baiting" of the ranchers' efforts to protect themselves and their home and property. Everybody's worried about their own people — except our own government.

"...it ought to be the U.S. government that enforces its own laws on its own border on behalf of the safety and rights of its own citizens."

What is happening in Arizona with the formation of citizens' patrols to enforce the laws our government won't enforce and our elected leaders are afraid to enforce is simply a response of human nature. It would be better if the government did what they're doing, but since it won't, the citizens have every right to do it themselves. And maybe, as government elsewhere in this country refuses to do what it's supposed to do, other citizens in other places will start learning the lesson that the good people of Arizona have to teach us about governing ourselves. ■

Mexico Needs to Clean Up Its Act

Its people suffer from bad government

by Charley Reese

It's probably time we realized that whatever self-government we have left in this country is with our local and state governments. The national government seems to have cut us out of the loop. It even shows signs of hostility toward us.

Take, for example, the current situation on the Arizona border. Some ranchers there, whose property abuts the border with Mexico, have grown tired of seeing their property used as a dump and a highway by illegal Mexican immigrants. They have begun to make citizen's arrests.

Now, every American has a right to make a citizen's arrest, but the U.S. government is up in arms. About the abuse of the ranchers' property? About the Mexicans violating our laws and our borders? Oh, no, the government is upset with the ranchers. The U.S. Attorney there says he's researching the law to see if there are any charges he can bring against the ranchers. Some hotshot Mexican official has hired an American law firm to sue the ranchers.

Let's get this straight: it is the ranchers who are being victimized by the illegal immigrants. The ranchers are upholding the law, while the U.S. government's entire sympathy seems to be with the Mexican illegals. It shows hostility to the ranchers who are, after all, doing what the U.S. government is supposed to do.

***Charley Reese** is a nationally-syndicated columnist. This May 22 article is ©2000 by King Features Syndicate and is reprinted by permission.*

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As for the aforementioned Mexican official and every other Mexican official, they should create a country in which their people can live and earn a decent living instead of being impoverished and exploited by a crooked government and its goons. The gall of Mexican government officials complaining about the treatment of Mexicans in America. They are treated better here than in Mexico. That is why — surprise, surprise — they come here.

The true tragedy of Mexico is that Mexican people love it so, but the country, or at least its government, has never returned their affection. About 20 families own most of the country, and, of course, for the past 50 years it has had pseudo elections while being governed by one party.

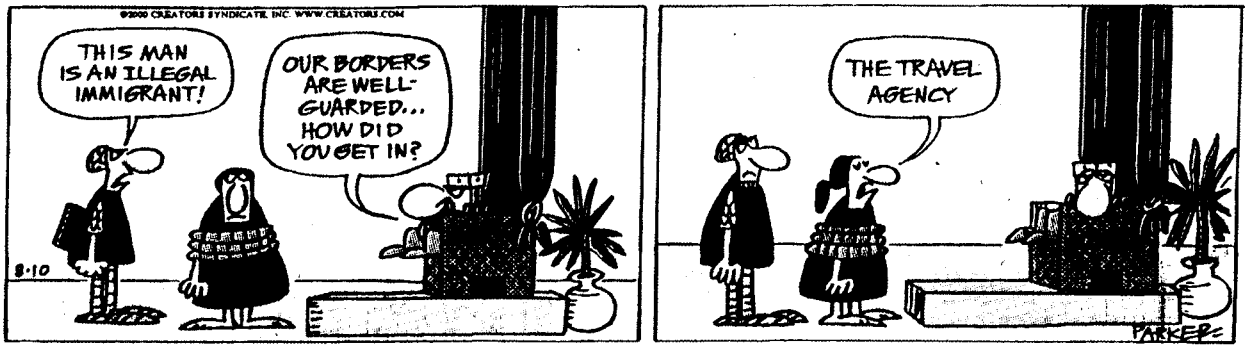
A few months ago, two Mexican army vehicles charged across the U.S. border, knocking down a fence, and fired on U.S. Border Patrol agents who were on horseback. When reinforcements arrived, one of the Mexican army vehicles fled back across the border while the other surrendered.

But guess what the orders were from Washington? Let them go and give them their weapons. It was all a mistake. Some of the rank-and-file Border Patrol officers don't think for one minute it was a mistake. They think the army vehicles were intent on delivering drugs, and the one that fled took the drugs back to Mexico.

The Arizona ranchers have a similar view of the Mexican government, and, in fact, over the years I've talked to Drug Enforcement agents, Border Patrolmen and Customs officials who all believe, despite the Washington chatter to the contrary, that the Mexican government is up to its armpits in the drug trade.

At any rate, Americans ought to be sick and tired of the Mexican government pushing its problems off on us. It is the Mexican government's responsibility to create an economy in which its people can make a decent living and live a decent life. Instead, the government exploits the hell out of them and sends them across the border to earn money to send back to their families in Mexico.

It is not the Mexican people who are at fault here. They suffer from bad government, as indeed do we on the national level. Nor is it the fault of the rank-and-file Border Patrol officers, who are not being supported by their own Washington bosses. It is certainly not the ranchers who are at fault. But if you just watch, you can see example after example where our national government shows a hostile face to American citizens. ■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Informed Consent

The boundaries of the body/mind and the borders of the state

by Diana Hull

O hear my song thou God of all the nations,
A song of peace for their land and for mine.
This is my home, the country where my heart is;
Here are my hopes my dreams, my holy shrine.
— Finlandia

Attachment to the land of one's birth is everywhere present — a virtually universal response based on biology and natural law. Human beings need a place of their own for nurture and safety, so border security, in more than the literal sense, has profound psychological meaning for everyone.

When Mexican President-elect Vicente Fox said he looked forward to open borders with the United States, even our most Mexico-friendly politicians did not sound enthused, and we can question whether the Mexican people themselves are really so anxious to erase the boundaries between us. That boundary is too permeable now for a feeling of security, yet somehow we cling to the illusion of containment. Jorge Castenada, one of Mexico's most talented writers, describes the "'ferocious differences between our two countries" — differences so profound, he says, "that they reach into the deeper realms of the soul, history and society."[1]

Americans have reason to wonder who among our own leaders are pondering the future of America's soul, or making much of the fact that we have a soul of our own — and a history, a vision and a national "personality" worth carrying forward. Advocates of the multicultural state may deny that an American "spirit" exists, but outsiders, beginning with "the age of discovery," have always attributed much that is uniquely magical and mystical to us.

The name "America" first appeared on a world atlas in 1507, at a time when maps were elaborately illustrated — embellished with pictures of ships, waterways and imaginary creatures, revealing the human emotions stirred up by geography. In the 18th century, Giovanni Tiepolo's paintings portrayed America as a beautiful, half-nude woman, surrounded by ravishing girls in feathered headdress — all crossing a river riding on crocodiles.[2]

Nations are credited with nurturing attributes, a projection of the wish to be held in the bosom of the "motherland." Geography is replete with images of craggy coasts, bridges, waterways and secret islands in the ocean — all symbolic of the human voyage. In this way "place" was revealed as entwined with the psyche, which in turn guides the relationship between man and his environment.[3] From Machu Picchu to Plymouth Rock, every group tries to preserve memories of its history and sacred sites, whose meaning is tied to that sense of belonging — being part of and encompassed by a special terrain, architecture, tradition and national essence. Without boundaries and gates, it can all leak away in the back and forth flow of a borderless place.

The United States, the country of our attachments, *is* slipping way — obliterated, not by generational change, but by a change in the origins of the replacement population. Gone now are many reference points that anchor Americans to their past. Disappearing landmarks are the likely reason that

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tiresome abstraction called the "American Dream" is evoked continually, claiming that it represents some universal wish to be part of an imagined America.

While people in other places may yearn for an experience they never had, Americans are really the ones who are doing the dreaming — clinging to dreams of a past life they actually knew and whose loss they are grieving and where their attachments to people and place were born. Mass immigration brings a new line of succession — people succored in a different national "bosom," who experienced a different past. Recent arrivals now "mark" our communities to announce a shift in the locus of control. That is the message of graffiti, foreign language signage, assaults on our ears — all a loss of defensible space — a boundary defeat that is followed by the out-migration of Americans in search of a place to feel comfortable; 300,000 people left California last year.

As American surroundings are being erased and fewer reference points remain, we experience a process of "denationalization." This encourages even assimilated minorities to opt for separatism, as the seemingly opposite pulls of globalism and separatism work in tandem against national unity. It's no wonder we suffer from indistinct focus and seem unsure of our right to a country of our own.

Psychohistorian Henry Ebel[4] wrote that before borders are stable, in the legal sense, they must be a real in the minds of the people they divide. Once established mentally, borders become part of personal identity, like other aspects of place. So what happens psychologically when the reality of that border is threatened?

Psychogeographers suggest that response depends on the average body boundary integrity of the people at risk and national differences are striking.[5] For example, anxiety about the body being too open and exposed is compensated for in the Arab world by covering part of the faces of women and most of the extremities. Flowing garb that disguises the figure underneath is one response to hot climates, whereas elsewhere loin cloths suffice.

Feelings about our bodies — whether their boundaries are secure or vulnerable, are projected onto the outside world, and conditions in the outside world are internalized. We need borders politically because we need them psychologically. Consciousness of our bodies is the "ground" of our being and normal people experience themselves as physically intact. Yet multi-cultural propaganda tries to dampen uneasiness about boundary losses — feelings that have roused us in the past to act protectively.

We need secured external boundaries in the same way we require a stable interior environment so physiological systems can function. Indeed our bodies are the very model of nuanced border regulation, with guardians at the gate of every critical system, regulating the permeability of cells, oxygen exchange, the skin and the valves of the heart.

"As American surroundings are being erased and fewer reference points remain, we experience a process of 'denationalization.' This encourages even assimilated minorities to opt for separatism"

Our body systems are alert to any trespass and replete with mechanisms for regulation and containment. The immune response, individuation and even sanity are all based upon recognizing the difference between what pioneer immunologist Sir Macfarlane Burnet called the "self" and "non-self."

Humans, like all creatures, fine tune their adaptive capacities to survive in a variety of natural environments from friendly to formidable. The unique characteristics of "place" influences every group's physiological and cultural shaping and each group in turn shapes their environment.

There is a similar reciprocal relationship between geographical place and the body/mind. Psychogeographers study the complex emotional ties between people and their surroundings and interpret their affective attachment to their group's boundaries as coming from the need for an anchor in the universe.

Yet Americans have fewer territorial rights than

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endangered butterflies to protect their habitat from encroachment, and no legal tools to resist being pushed out of environments to which they have adapted after generations have gone into their shaping. Now globalist thought has reversed the hierarchy of territorial rights. Freedom of movement for those outside of developed societies now override the ownership interest of citizens in western nations — a point of view that has not been seriously challenged as yet.

Acceptance of this idea does not come naturally, so it's difficult to analyze how this happened without more resistance since it cuts against the grain and defies our earliest training. The importance of sturdy outer walls is affirmed by all the classic tales we read in childhood, like the wolf who breaks into an unsecured dwelling. When he huffs and puffs mightily, he can blow the house down and the next generation receives instruction about the need for walls that are sturdy.

"Americans have fewer territorial rights than endangered butterflies to protect their habitat from encroachment, and no legal tools to resist being pushed out of environments to which they have adapted..."

Invasiveness and Informed Consent

While the government is negligent in protecting the national borders, they are diligent now in protecting the body. We can hope that the linkages will dawn on them soon. Between 1974 and 1983, various U.S. commissions refined the legal prohibitions concerned with the violation of personal boundaries of body or mind in medicine and research. The new ethical imperatives required full disclosure of risk to patients and the need for consent before penetration of the body by surgery or drugs. There are 17 U.S. government reports and appendix volumes that analyze *informed consent* into its components parts.

We can only recommend that the body politic be protected in the same way a patient would be from the surgeon who performs an operation without following disclosure rules. If our national borders were protected like our bodies, the government would have to explain, in detail, all the risks and possible negative outcomes to opening up the nation and we could refuse unacceptable boundary violations that we thought were too dangerous or not in our interest.

In the language of one court decision in a landmark informed consent case, "the patient's right of self-decision shapes the boundaries of the duty to reveal."[6] What better directive could there be to a government presiding over a people who consent to be governed?

There is a continuum of border issues that flows logically from the skin to the dwelling and then to the community and the nation. We are psychologically involved at all of these levels but have concrete ownership interests that diminish abruptly when we get past the door of our dwelling and the grounds of our property.

The house is a "castle" in theory, but government can tax and can dictate its uses and in what manner it can be replaced and repaired. But the dwelling is still the outermost boundary acknowledged as appropriate for individual or group ownership, and the last outpost that government will defend as a private domain.

The house is less private than the body, but contiguous with "place" which is part of the community and nation — all incorporated into the mind like the dimensions and condition of the body. Thus we have as big a stake in maintaining the integrity of the "places" we are connected to, as we do in assuring the security of our person.

Sociologist Winifred Gallager[7] wrote that we would be far better off if we approached larger increments of territory as we do our own homes. She was certainly aware that crossing the threshold of home does not sever emotional ties to one's surroundings.

There is a "sanctity" of place because it is the cradle of all non-inherited personal and cultural traits. There the members of a group maintain an ongoing cognitive and motivational togetherness that was first described by Anthony A.C. Wallace as *mazeway*

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equivalence. That means a shared cognitive content that has to do with self-evaluation, language and morality. Yet all of this community connectedness is put at risk by the rapidly changing composition of local communities.

Since over long periods of time characteristics of the environment can influence the gene pool, there should be no doubt of its power to fashion deeply entrenched group traits that can be maladaptive or destructive in other surroundings.

Mass immigration creates significant intrusions into established communities, putting both immigrants and established populations at great risk for cultural conflict and social upheaval.

This is done absent any consent from the governed who believe that America is a national entity with a character that emerged from its geography, its history and its people.

When government cooperates with border penetration, it brings the nation to a melting at the edges — a weakening that spreads into the heartland. Could there be reasons other than the obvious economic and political ones that are driving the wish to change our shape while shedding the national "skin"?

In his book *Body Consciousness*, Professor Seymour Fisher identifies risk taking individuals, like LSD users, that are strangely attracted to the loss of their personal boundaries. A more pervasive socio-pathology might induce a nation to wish for its own dilution and final disappearance through merger with the rest of the world.

Adolescents also find boundary-dissolution tempting and so do psychotics who have lost a sense of who and where they are. But most people, Professor Fisher maintains "battle day and night to keep the borders of the mind and body intact and struggle to maintain control over their separate chunk of the world's space." To them personal boundaries are coextensive with the geopolitical boundaries of their group, so "place" demands protection. It is as sacred a vessel for life and well being as the mind and the body.

Cultural historian Jacques Barzun calls our culture "plagued by doubts," despite our many triumphs. Not surprising when we are encouraged, indeed coerced, by the majority of religious and secular authority figures to suppress our intuitive knowledge and deny our fundamental attachments. ■

NOTES

[1] From Jorge Castenada's article about Mexico in *The Atlantic Monthly*, November 1995.

[2] From Stein, Howard E., and Neiderland, William G. (Eds), *Maps From the Mind: Readings in Psychogeography*, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Oklahoma, 1989.

[3] American Psychoanalyst William G. Niederland first proposed the term "Psychogeography" in 1978 as a way to explain the associations people have to the shape of the natural world. He went on to publish hundreds of monographs on this subject.

[4] From Chapters 9 and 10 by Henry Ebel, in Stein and Neiderland's *Maps of the Mind.*

[5] From the work of S. Fisher and S.E. Cleveland in *Body Image and Personality*, Dover Press, New York, 1968. Although little systematic research has been done on this subject, there is some evidence that national differences in feelings about body boundary security do exist.

[6] *Canterbury v. Spence,* 464 F2d at 780,1972.

[7] Gallagher, Winifred, *The Power of Place*, HarperCollins Publishers, New York, 1994.

Out of the Past...

"For it is never to be forgotten that self-defense is the first law of nature and of nations. If that man who careth not for his own household is worse than an infidel, the nation which permits its institutions to be endangered by any cause which can fairly be removed is guilty not less in Christian than in natural law. Charity begins at home; and while the people of the United States have gladly offered an asylum to millions upon millions of the distressed and unfortunate of other lands and climes, they have no right to carry their hospitality one step beyond the line where American institutions, the American rate of wages, the American standard of living, are brought into serious peril."

— Francis A. Walker
"Restriction of Immigration"
in *The Atlantic Monthly*
June 1896, Vol. 77, No. 464, pp. 822-829

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El Republica del Norte

The next American nation?

by Brent Nelson

The *Albuquerque Tribune* in its issue of January 31, 2000, reported at length on one man's plan for a *Republica del Norte*. The new republic, according to its herald, Dr. Charles Truxillo, an adjunct professor of Chicano Studies at the University of New Mexico, should be brought into existence "by any means necessary."[1] Despite this impatient tone, Truxillo admits that the new *Republica del Norte* will probably not come into being until toward the end of the century. When it does take its place among the nations of the world, it will be a sovereign Chicano nation straddling the present U.S.-Mexican border. North of the border, it will comprise the present states of California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, and part of Colorado. South of the border, it will include the present Mexican states of Baja California, Sonora, Chihuahua, Coahuila, Nuevo Leon, and Tamaulipas.

Why will the rest of Mexico not be included in the new republic? The *Albuquerque Tribune*'s reporter did not ask this question, but a reasonable guess is that the republic's boundaries will be drawn to include only the northern industrial belt of Mexico. This is the area of Mexico where the pro-capitalist National Action Party (PAN) has elected governors. Northern Mexico also has the highest concentration of people who are wholly or mostly of Caucasian descent. Southern Mexico is Indian Mexico and seems to be in a state of insurgency more often than not.[2] Although the Marxist opposition party, the Democratic Revolution Party (PRD) is strong in the southernmost provinces, the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) still manages to dominate them through force and fraud.

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Truxillo believes in the right of a state to secede. Although the U.S. government might deny that right to its own states, it at least once recognized the right of Mexican states to secede. The notorious example of the latter was, of course, the U.S.-approved transformation of *Tejas* into Texas. (Santa-Anna could have argued — and perhaps did so, because he lived until 1876 — that he was only trying to do what Lincoln did.)

Along both sides of the border, according to Truxillo, "there is a growing fusion, a reviving of connections. Southwest Chicanos and Norteno Mexicanos are becoming one people again." They must become one people again, and independent, because they "have been ruled by three empires, Spain, Mexico, and the United States. Under all three systems, we have failed to achieve self-determination."[3]

Why is self-determination for Chicanos so important? Truxillo's answer is thought-provoking: "Among native-born American Hispanics, there is the feeling that we are strangers in our own land. We remain subordinated. We have a negative image of our own culture, created by the media. Self-loathing is a terrible form of oppression. ...There has to be an alternative."[4]

Truxillo cites the notorious Malcolm X formula, "by any means necessary," but it is doubtful that any drastic measures will be taken to bring into being a *Republic del Norte*. The spirit of *el Plan de San Diego*, an abortive violent uprising which erupted in 1917, provided the inspiration for a number of nationalist movements from then until the 1980s, all focused on Aztlan and *la Raza*, but it is now probably an obsolescent model.[5] Political and legal developments fully accepted and even welcomed by U.S. governing circles are preparing the way for a triumph of Chicano nationalism without any recourse to armed militancy.

On July 2, 2000, the Mexican equivalent of the fall of the Berlin Wall took place when Vicente Fox

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Quesada, the presidential candidate of PAN, won a winning plurality of the vote against the candidates of the PRI and the PRD. For the first time in 71 years, the candidate of the PRI had failed to win election.[6]

The PAN, a pro-capitalist and pro-religious party, differs sharply from the PRI, which has always leaned to the left and to secularism. The most important difference between the two parties may be, however, the fact that the PRI has always been a nationalist, hence anti-United States party, while the PAN is, at least attitudinally, as pro-American as it is pro-business. Paradoxically, the pro-American stance of the PAN may make it more of a menace to the territorial integrity of the United States than the adversarial posturings of the PRI and the PRD.

Fox lost little time in proposing that the U.S., Canada, and Mexico work jointly to achieve an economic union patterned after the European Union. He asked that the U.S. immediately increase visas for Mexicans entering the U.S. to 250,000 a year. Fox admitted that closing the gap in wages between the U.S. and Mexico, which is 7 to 1 in the U.S.'s favor, might take decades.[7] Since 1994, when the North American Free Trade Agreement was implemented, average wages in Mexico have in fact fallen, largely as a result of the 1994 peso crisis.[8]

Few spoke up to voice the obvious objection to such a closure from the standpoint of the American worker: once the gap was closed the new level of wages would almost certainly not be the U.S. level, but rather one intermediate between those of the two nations, a clear decline in the standard of living of wage workers and, probably, even salaried workers in the U.S.[9] This would be especially true if the explosive growth of the Mexican population is not curtailed. PAN, a pro-clerical party, has already moved to outlaw abortion in at least one Mexican state and is unfriendly to birth control programs.[10]

The adoption of a European Union model for economic integration would be especially significant given the increasing acceptance of dual citizenship. The oath taken by newly naturalized citizens in which they "renounce and abjure all allegiances and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state or sovereignty" was by 1998 rendered legally moot. Since a U.S. Supreme Court decision in 1967, the U.S. no longer finds a second citizenship to be legally problematic. Supposedly, the oath no longer requires a citizen to give up a previous citizenship. In its report delivered at the end of 1997, the U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform called for "modernizing" the language of the oath.[11]

The U.S. Supreme Court in 1967 in the case of *Afroyim v. Rusk* (387 U.S. 253) reversed previous decisions and held that a naturalized citizen could not be deprived of his citizenship by Congress. Afroyim, born in Poland, became a naturalized U.S. citizen, then moved to Israel in 1950 and in 1950 voted in an election for the Israeli Knesset. When he applied for a renewal of his U.S. passport in 1960, his application was refused by the Department of State which cited a section of the Nationality Act of 1940 mandating revocation of citizenship for naturalized citizens who vote "in a political election in a foreign state." Afroyim sued the Secretary of State, asking to have the statutory provision declared unconstitutional as a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. Overruling its prior decisions, most notably *Perez v. Brownell* (356 U.S. 44) in 1958, the Supreme Court agreed with Afroyim that he was unconstitutionally deprived of his citizenship. Only if a U.S. citizen voted in a foreign election with the stated intent of renouncing his U.S. citizenship could he lose his citizenship. Although this ruling seems to be as potentially significant as *Brown v. Board of Education* or *Roe v. Wade*, it has received little publicity.

"[Mexican president-elect] Fox lost little time in proposing that the U.S., Canada, and Mexico work jointly to achieve an economic union patterned after the European Union."

In response to this tacit acceptance of dual citizenship, the Mexican government on March 21, 1998, changed the Mexican Constitution to permit

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millions of Mexican-born citizens, as well as their U.S.-born children, to claim or reclaim Mexican citizenship.[12] Admittedly, the Mexican Constitution is not unique in its recognition of dual citizenship. Ireland also offers citizenship to any of the millions of American citizens who had at least one grandparent who was born in Ireland. Germany, more generously, grants citizenship to anyone who can prove German descent. Thus, tens of millions of German Americans could also assume German citizenship.[13] What made the Mexican initiative unique, however, was its being soon followed by what seemed to be open attempts to mobilize Mexican Americans on behalf of the political interests of their nation of birth or ancestry. In 1999, a serious movement began in Mexico to allow Mexican Americans, possibly as many as ten million of them, to vote in the 2000 Mexican presidential election.[14]

"The once popular sense of an ethnically defined founding people, who first created the [American] nation and then crafted a constitution for it, has been largely lost."

The acceptance of dual citizenship by U.S. governing circles also partially explains the inadequate response to what may be called the partial secession of El Cenizo, Texas. In 1999, the Texas border city of El Cenizo, near Laredo, established Spanish as its official language and declared the town a "safe haven" for "undocumented workers." City officials also warned that city employees cooperating with the U.S. Border Patrol would face dismissal. El Cenizo, a *colonia* chartered as a city only in 1989, had grown to a population of 8,000 by 1999, more than two-thirds of which spoke little or no English. The official establishment of Spanish as the town's language of government aroused protests from the organization U.S. English, while officials of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service asked to meet with city officials regarding their stance on the Border Patrol.[15]

What happened in El Cenizo was a non-violent uprising of *el Republica del Norte* against the United States. The French political thinker Charles Maurras well-described the situation with his observation that the real nation is not to be confused with the legal nation. Truxillo's new republic, as far as the city officials of El Cenizo are concerned, is their real nation. They and other Chicano nationalists have a sense of nationality, while the U.S. leadership does not go beyond considerations of citizenship (i.e., legality). Virtually every nation in Europe, unlike the United States, has a foundation in some ethnicity, albeit that that foundation may no longer be legally recognized. Anthony D. Smith, a British sociologist, finds the core of each nation in what he calls "the ethnie." Ethnies are "human populations with shared ancestry myths, histories and cultures, having an association with a specific territory and a sense of solidarity." Uniting the ethnie is a "collective name," "imputed common ancestry and origins," and a shared culture which includes religion, language, customs, institutions, laws, folklore, architecture, dress, food, music, and arts. The sense of solidarity, "which in times of stress and danger can override class, factional or regional divisions within the community" partially explains why the "paradox of ethnicity is its mutability in persistence, and its persistence through change.[16]

Any attempt to establish an ethnie for the United States in the year 2000 now seems to be almost un-American. All members of the U.S. power elite seem to agree with Justice Hugo Black that "the United States is purely a creature of the Constitution."[17] The once popular sense of an ethnically defined founding people, who first created the nation and then crafted a constitution for it, has been largely lost. Admittedly, that sense may have been tenuous from the beginning and was further eroded by the 14th amendment.[18]

While the ethnie of the American nation is submerged and blurred, if it is any longer existent at all, that of Truxillo's projected new republic is much sharper in definition and clarity. It is a sense of autochthony claimed by the Chicano population on the basis of their Indian ancestry. This right of priority, of being indigenous or autochthonous, has recently been

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challenged by partisans of Kennewick Man, but Kennewick Man established no enduring settlements.[19] Survival is the final determiner of nationhood. If the American ethnie does not enjoy more than a feeble resurgence, then the Southwest U.S. will give way to *el Republica del Norte.* ■

NOTES

[1] Frank Zoretich, "New Mexico Will Secede to New Nation, Prof Says," *Albuquerque Tribune*, 31 Jan. 2000, p. A1.

[2] See Lester D. Langley, *MexAmerica: Two Countries, One Future* (New York: Crown, 1988), pp. 4-5.

[3] Zoretich, *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] For a somewhat partisan account of *el Plan de San Diego*, see Alfredo Mirande, *Gringo Justice* (Notre Dame, Ind.: Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 1987), pp. 95-6.

[6] For a detailed account of this fateful election, see Mary Beth Sheridan, "Mexico's Landmark Vote," *Los Angeles Times*, 3 July 2000, p. A1.

[7] See Kevin Sullivan and Mary Jordan, "Fox Seeks New Cooperative Era for N. America," *The Washington Post*, 14 Aug. 2000, p. A1.

[8] See Edward Alden and Henry Tricks, "Border Crossing," *Financial Times [London]*, 21 Aug. 2000, p. 14.

[9] Critics included George Borjas, "Mexico's One-Way Remedy," *The New York Times*, 18 July 2000, p. A21, and Robert J. Samuelson, "America as Mexico's Economic Safety Valve," *The Washington Post*, 20 July 2000, p. A25.

[10] See Sullivan and Jordan.

[11] See "Courts Render Citizenship Vow Moot," *San Francisco Examiner*, 15 Feb. 1998, Sec. A, p. 17. See also Stanley A. Renshon, "Dual Citizens in America: An Issue of Vast Proportions and Broad Significance," *Center for Immigration Studies Backgrounder*, July 2000, pp. 1-11.

[12] See Jonathan Tilove, "Rise of the Ampersand American," *San Francisco Examiner*, 15 Feb. 1998, Sec. A, p. 17.

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] See Sam Dillon, "Mexico Weighs Voting by its Emigrants in U.S.," *The New York Times*, 7 Dec. 1998, Sec. A, p. 3, and Patrick J. McDonnell, "U.S. Votes Could Sway Mexico's Next Election," *Los Angeles Times*, 15 Feb. 1999, Sec. A, p. 1.

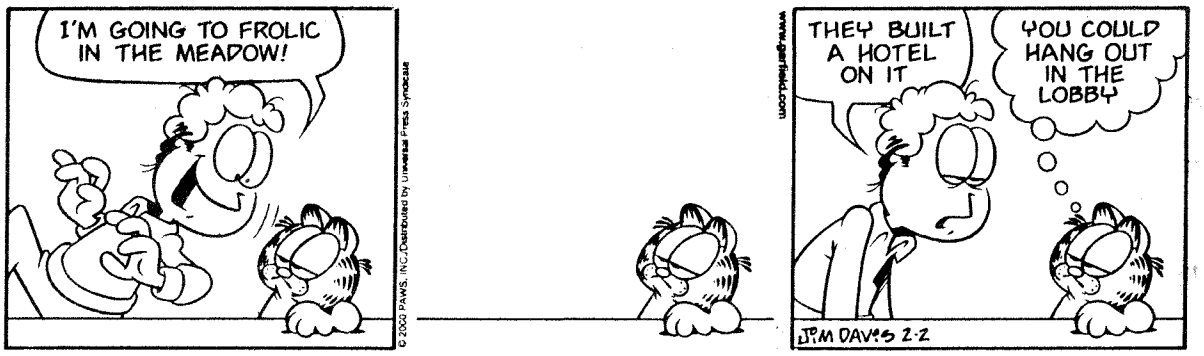
[15] See Joyce Howard Price, "Officially, They Speak No Ingles; It's Spanish Only for Town in Texas," *The Washington Times*, 14 Aug. 1999, Sec. A, p. 1.

[16] See Smith's *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), pp. 21f.

[17] Black is quoted in David Jacobson, *Rights Across Borders: Immigration and the Decline of Citizenship* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), p. 102.

[18] The last influential apologia on behalf of an American ethnie is Henry Pratt Fairchild's *The Melting-Pot Mistake* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1926).

[19] On Kennewick Man, see Roger Downey, *Riddle of the Bones: Politics, Science, Race, and the Story of the Kennewick Man* (New York: Copernicus, 2000) and David H. Thomas, *Skull Wars: Kennewick Man, Archaeology, and the Battle for Native American Identity* (New York: Basic Books, 2000).



Garfield By Jim Davis
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Mexican Merger?

United we fall

by George Szamuely

According to the US Census Bureau, minorities are now the majority population of California. Whites comprise 49.9 percent of the state's 33.1 million residents; Hispanics 31.6 percent; Asians, 11.4 percent, and Blacks 6.7 percent. That's quite a turnaround. In 1970 California was 80 percent white. The state's astonishing demographic shift is likely to be repeated across the nation. Between 1990 and 1999, America's Hispanic population grew 38.8 percent to 31.3 million while the Asian population grew 43 percent to 10.8 million. It has been estimated that within 100 years, the nation's Hispanic population will be about 190 million, just 40 million behind the white population.

There is no mystery as to how this came about. Every year about 200,000 Mexicans immigrants enter the United States. An additional 300,000 Mexicans cross the border and enter the United States illegally. In 1960, 75 percent of immigrants came from Europe; 9 percent from Latin America; and 5 percent from Asia. By 1999, only 16 percent came from Europe; while 51 were from Latin America; and 27 percent from Asia. The elites of the United States and Mexico have pursued a deliberate policy of encouraging large-scale immigration. The elites of the United States want cheap labor. The elites of Mexico want to get rid of their unemployed, not to mention the remittances that they subsequently send home from the United States. The Mexican Government has as little interest in stemming the flow of immigrants to the North as it has in stopping the narcotics trade. This is something the United States is well aware of. Mexico is our colony — a permanent source of cheap labor. Close the illegal immigration safety valve and Mexico faces economic ruin and political collapse. End drug trafficking and, again, Mexico faces economic ruin and political collapse. Nothing much then is asked of Mexico's rulers other than to come to Washington every year, and promise solemnly that they intend to crack down mercilessly on drug trafficking and illegal border crossings.

To Washington's consternation, however, Mexican President-elect Vicente Fox has decided to change the rules of the game. He is not interested in the old hypocrisy. He has blurted out the basic premise of US-Mexican relations. Since the United States already looks the other way as millions of illegals pour into the country, why not do away with the pretense of immigration controls altogether? Fox has proposed economic union with the United States modeled on the European Union. He also wants the United States to increase the annual number of Mexican immigrants it takes in legally. And he wants the United States to end the "drug certification" program, whereby countries are rewarded or penalized according to whether Washington believes they are doing enough to crack down on the drug trade. Note that Mexico has never been decertified even though almost all of the drugs entering the United States go through Mexico.

Fox has also demanded that the United States establish a regional development fund to ensure that living standards in the two countries start to converge. Improving living standards for Mexicans, he argues, is the only way to stop illegal immigration. "As long as we work on development ... we will not have migration" problems, he explained during, his recent trip to the U.S. "We will never be that good friend, that good neighbor, that good partner, as long as

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***George Szamuely** is a columnist with Antiwar.com from which this is reprinted with permission.*

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Mexico is lagging way behind in development," he also said. Interesting, though Mexico's exports to the U.S. have tripled since the launch of NAFI'A, average Mexican wages have declined. Fox is, of course, trying to shake down the United States. Increase the number of Mexicans you let in legally, and in exchange, I will try to cut down on the number entering illegally. Fork over some cash, otherwise I will not be able to control the flow of illegal immigrants. Do you want 500,000 Mexicans to cross the border next year? How about 750,000? How about a million? Mexico call afford to lose these numbers without suffering in the slightest. The United States, on the other hand, would soon be facing serious civil disturbances in most of its major cities.

This is all election year and U.S. policymakers have not rushed to embrace Fox's proposals. "We have borders, and we have laws that apply to them and we have to apply them. And so do the Mexicans" — thus Bill Clinton. "I believe we ought to enforce our borders" — thus George W. Bush. "Gore said some elements of Fox's proposal were problematic in the U.S. ... But he was interested to note that Fox wanted to paint this as a very long-term vision" — thus Leon Fuerth, Al Gore's national security adviser. During his recent visit, Fox toned down his rhetoric. However, he promised. Mexican immigrant leaders to create a special office to address the issues of Mexicans living abroad. One of his most important responsibilities as Mexico's President, he says, is to look after the interests of Mexicans living abroad. "You come to a new country with more anger, more audacity and with a stronger hope of fighting for a better life, and yet you still haven't forgotten your homeland," Fox bellowed to an enthusiastic crowd of Mexican immigrants in Texas.

It is a safe bet however that, once the election is over, America's rulers will become warm to Fox's proposals. "North America Doesn't Need Borders" ran the triumphant headline of a *Wall Street Journal* editorial page article written by Judy Shelton, longtime Senior Fellow of the Hoover Institution [*See the following article*]. Business leaders want more immigrants to enter the United States. They complain that with unemployment rates at around 4 per cent, they are facing labor shortages. The media, of course, repeat this nonsense uncritically.

There are no labor shortages in the United States. There are only shortages at the income levels the employers wish to pay. Since employers can always rely on cheap immigrant labor, they have little incentive to pay more. Federal Reserve chairman. Alan Greenspan, recently told a congressional committee that unless immigration was increased wage increases could start to outpace productivity. This would lead to inflation or to a squeezing of profit margins. "Either outcome [is] capable of bringing our growing prosperity to an end," he explained. Greenspan forever worries about wages outpacing productivity — whatever that may mean. That evidently has inflationary consequences and are, therefore, bad. Yet large profit margins or zooming share prices, for some reason, never have inflationary consequences and are always good. The hacks are too cowed by this godlike creature to ask him to explain this incongruity.

What are the consequences for the United States of having this ever growing Mexican population here? Hispanics are voting in U.S. elections in greater numbers than ever before. The number of Hispanics who voted in congressional races increased from 3.4 million in 1994 to 4.1 million in 1998. The overall number of voters nationwide, however, dropped by 2.6 million. Mexican-Americans, moreover, see themselves increasingly as a lobbying group on behalf of Mexico. "We want to build a mechanism where Mexican immigrants can influence U.S. policy by becoming a more sensible voice on behalf of Mexico on issues related to bilateral matters," explained Adolfo Aguilar Zinser, a key political adviser to Fox. What the United States is facing is not the secession of large chunks of the South West. Mexicans did not come here in order to rejoin their former country. Instead, a massive campaign will soon be underway to establish an ever-

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closer union between Mexico and the United States. Already California's Governor Gray Davis says: "People will look at California and Mexico as one magnificent region." Such talk will only increase. Recently a Los Angeles resident was elected to the Mexican Congress.

A union between Mexico and the United States serves the interests of the ruling elites of both countries. Not only will they profit while everyone else will be impoverished, it will also be good for the American Empire. The more heterogeneous the population, the harder it is so forge a sense of common purpose. This is where imperial ambition comes in. What will come to unite Americans? Not language, not race, not the Constitution but the idea that the United States is a microcosm of the world and must hence rule this world. ■

No Borders Needed

The usual mantra from the corporate structure

by Judy Shelton

Vicente Fox, Mexico's incoming president, made a whirlwind trip to Canada and the U.S. [in August] to talk about his vision for the future of North America. Mr. Fox generated buzz everywhere with his ideas. His talk of open borders is deeply controversial in the U.S. though what he is really selling is the fulfillment of open markets. His proposal to combine resources across borders may strike some as too imaginative in its scope. But it is, in fact, steeped in pragmatism.

Convinced that the North American Free Trade Agreement has delivered substantial benefits on all sides since its inception in 1994, Mr. Fox wants to deepen the alliance. Beyond the free trade of goods and services, he would like to work toward a greater movement of people, so that resources, whether human financial or material, are more efficiently utilized in the interests of all market participants. And realizing that Mexico's vulnerability to economic instability has crippled its own development even as it has threatened international financial relations, he proposes that Mexico commit itself to achieving reduced levels of inflation and public debt on a par with the U.S.

Mr. Fox's approach, which one might call convergence by objective, would aim to bring down Mexico's inflation from its current 9 percent to less than 3 percent, to match American and Canadian rates by 2003. Likewise, he would impose limits on deficit spending consistent with achieving a balanced budget in the same year. He would seek to strengthen the banking system and to bring Mexico's regulatory approach into conformity with U.S. standards.

The benefits to Mexico, in terms of increased fiscal discipline and a fortified financial sector, would be tremendous. But for Mr. Fox, the real payoff would come from lower interest rates, which would lower the cost of capital for aspiring Mexican entrepreneurs. A long-time supporter of microcredits to provide seed money for small business, Mr. Fox believes strongly in the economic ingenuity of individuals.

Mexico's problem has been its prohibitively high interest rates, which have cut off access to financial capital and stifled opportunity. Where inflation is rampant, there is little reason to save. And where currency depreciation undermines the gains on invested capital, foreign investors demand higher rates of compensation. By closing the gap

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in financial and monetary performance, Mr. Fox hopes to unleash private initiative within Mexico.

But what's in it for us? First, there is increased stability. The peso meltdown in December 1994 imposed tremendous economic hardship on the Mexican people; in a country with less social cohesion, it might have led to serious political chaos. Sharing a 2,000-mile border gives the U.S. a vested interest in helping Mexico to achieve steady economic growth, increased employment and higher living standards.

The prospect of expanding U.S. exports to a neighboring country of 100 million consumers should have direct appeal for U.S. suppliers of goods and services. American manufacturers already reap the benefit of low-cost production facilities in Mexico; as a result, our consumers pay lower prices for cars and other finished goods that can be sold tariff-free on U.S. soil.

Arguments about lost American jobs fall flat in the face of record low unemployment in the U.S. Indeed, Mr. Fox points out that the low-inflation, high-growth performance of the U.S. economy is due partly to the fact that Mexican workers help relieve the high demand for labor — citing no less an authority than Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan.

Despite the obvious gains for Mexico, which has seen its exports to the U.S. and Canada grow to $133 billion from $45 billion under NAFTA, and whose foreign direct investment has increased to $11.6 billion from $4.4 billion, Mr. Fox is taking some flak at home for his bold proposals. Grumbling among his political enemies is fueled by accusations that he should have secured a "consensus" before talking to foreign leaders about a North American union. They accuse Mr. Fox of catering to wealthy business interests on the subject of future monetary union, somehow missing the irony that currency depreciation helps big exporters; it is the average Mexican citizen who is penalized by cheapened money

Emigration is a sensitive issue in Mexico, not just in the U.S., since it reflects the chronic poverty of the millions who feel forced to seek economic opportunity outside their own country. Unlike his predecessors, Mr. Fox refuses to ignore the reality of mass emigration. At the same time, he asserts strongly that the desire of Mexicans to work should be seen as a virtue. In seeking to increase levels of legal emigration — initially through an expansion of work permits from U.S. immigration authorities — Mr. Fox hopes to narrow the staggering difference in income levels that exist in North America.

His model for believing that genuine progress can be made is based on the success already enjoyed by Spain, Ireland and Portugal as the result of their membership in the European Union. A vastly better performance on inflation and interest rates has resulted in impressive economic growth in these countries, once Europe's economic laggards. Mr. Fox notes too that the free flow of people across intra-European borders has been a major factor in the optimal economic use of all resources. Among the experts who have helped him to spot a similar growth opportunity for Mexico is Robert Mundell, the Nobel laureate for economics.

What makes Mr. Fox so intriguing as a leader is his ability to blend theory with reality. As a former Coca-Cola executive, he has a gift for making a sale; he will need it to persuade the U.S. and Canada to join him in pursuing his dream of truly open markets. Salesmanship is nothing without substance, of course. But Mr. Fox need only point out that the just-concluded Jackson Hole conference of central bankers and economists was devoted to the theme of global economic integration.

Mr. Fox will undoubtedly be accused of fomenting political power shifts and jeopardizing national sovereignty. Fidel Castro has already hinted that the Mexican president-elect is playing into the hands of U.S. imperialists who intend to exploit his quest for more open borders by subjugating Mexico. What the Marxists don't understand is this: Mr. Fox does, indeed, want to shift economic power. Not from one nation to another, though, but rather from government to the people. ■

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Borders with U.S. Likely to Disappear

N. America urged to integrate customs, immigration

by Jim Bronskill and Mike Blanchfield

WASHINGTON

An American think-tank is calling on Canada, the United States and Mexico to combine customs, immigration and security functions to the point at which borders become almost irrelevant.

A study released yesterday by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace urges the three countries to explore whether a North American "integration project" is worth pursuing and to develop a strategic plan for rethinking border relationships.

A decision to proceed would trigger bilateral negotiations with the aim of agreeing on the border relationship each pair of neighbouring countries wishes to see in 10 or 15 years.

"For the U.S.-Canada border, this means ever closer and organic co- operation, an ever more explicit focus on understanding and addressing differences and ever greater experimentation," says the study, prepared by the endowment's International Migration Policy Program.

"It is in fact our contention that, substantively at least, the U.S.-Canada border is likely to disappear before any politician finds the political courage to negotiate its removal."

The study's authors, Demetrios Papademetriou and Deborah Waller Meyers, spent two years researching the issues, paying special attention to life in border communities.

The study acknowledges the sensitivities around fostering closer ties between sovereign countries and insists the proposals would not lead to the creation of a new political entity, nor a continental capital akin to Brussels in the European Community.

It also stresses that stronger border co-operation would not unduly affect areas the partners consider "nearly sacred" — such as issues of identity and, in Canada's case, a tradition of government-sponsored social programs.

Canadian and U.S. leaders see more effective border management as a pressing issue, insisted Martha Nixon, a senior Immigration Department official who attended a Washington conference yesterday to discuss the report's findings.

"They have asked us to make this a much more strategically focused piece of business, so I think it's clear this is a priority."

The authors say continental integration is based on a vision that imagines the NAFTA borders gradually "becoming irrelevant to the point where their abolition could proceed without any real compromise" in any of the priorities of each partner.

Meyers said the rapid growth in commerce between the countries demands a forward-looking approach to ensure border systems can handle the flow of goods and people.

"Maybe things aren't collapsing yet, but they will if we don't do anything," she said in an interview.

Among the authors' ideas:

• One partner conduct all inspections and tariff collections on behalf of the other two countries when cargo enters NAFTA space, eliminating the need to repeat procedures at each border. A similar system could be implemented by immigration services to deal with people crossing borders.

Jim Bronskill and Mike Blanchfield *are staff reporters with the* Ottawa [*Ontario*] Citizen. *©2000, this report is reprinted by permission.*

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• Canada and the United States, initially, agree to a common visa regime for the widest band of countries possible.

• Canada and the United States gradually liberalize the movement of each other's citizens, building on the treatment each now offers one another's professionals under the NAFTA agreement.

The authors believe the proposals could enhance protection against illegal activities such as terrorism and drug-smuggling, improve economic prosperity and insulate each country from "political ups and downs" that affect vital interests. For instance, some U.S. politicians have been pushing for stricter border controls that would, in turn, hurt businesses.

The study says U.S. interest in the integration project is "likely to be tepid" unless the proposals can help Washington accomplish its own goals less expensively, more efficiently and much more effectively.

Nixon, an assistant deputy minister with Canada's Immigration Department, does not believe the sort of changes outlined in the report would water down sovereignty or lead to erasure of the border.

"I think we can do a whole lot without sacrificing or challenging our identity at all." She pointed to a pilot project that will allow people crossing the Bluewater Bridge at the Canada-U.S. border near Sarnia, Ont., to fill out forms at just one stop instead of two.

"Why do we have two places to go to?" she asked. "Why don't we have one pass between two countries?" ■

'No Thanks'

This is the sensible answer to Mexico's offer of open borders

by Georgie Anne Geyer

The imposing new Mexican president-elect, Vicente Fox, has left Washington, but many Americans, official and otherwise, are still criticizing the unprecedented immigration policies that he carried here last week. Open borders? The idea was not exactly cheered with hurrahs.

But this is the wrong way to look at Fox's idea of eventually creating a "program of convergence" between Mexico, Canada and the United States a la the European union. In truth, we should thank the new president for making us finally consider some sobering realities.

• More and more since the disastrous immigration act of 1965, which gave skewed preferences to the poorest and least qualified of the Third World above those with skills and education, Americans have retreated into their habitual wanton utopianism. Our protective isolation in the world repeatedly has led us to believe that the laws of human nature do not apply to us.

On immigration, that reads: "America is a land of immigrants, so we mustn't exclude anyone."

But it is that kind of thinking that has put us in the situation today where fully 8 million Mexican-born adults are now living in the United States, about 40 percent of them illegal, with the population increasing by at least 350,000 every year. But far from any real convergence in bringing incomes closer together, the U.S.-Mexico wage gap continues to be the largest between any two adjacent countries in the world, with 33 percent of Mexican immigrants already here living under the

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Georgie Anne Geyer is a nationally-syndicated columnist. © 2000. Reprinted by permission of Universal Press Syndicate.

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poverty line.

Economists such as George J. Borjas have found further that the large-scale (and largely Mexican) immigration of the 1980s and '90s has seriously reduced the relative wages of native American workers with less than a high school education — indeed, by at least 5 percentage points.

Is it really to America's advantage, then, not only to continue this distorted kind of immigration policy, but to enlarge it, to enhance it and to think about writing it into national and even international law?

• Fox is surely a breath of fresh air in a Mexico exhausted and corrupted by the 71-year rule of the Institutional Revolutionary Party, or PRI. His ideas about addressing poverty within Mexico are excellent — and welcome. But...

The wage differentials between Mexico and the United States remain so great — a worker in Mexico earns $5 a day and, in the U.S., $60 a day — that it will be many years (if, indeed, it happens at all) for wages to converge sufficiently to make a real common market tenable. Moreover, the predecessor institutions of Fox's ideas, like the North American Development Bank (NADB) set up in 1994 during the fight over the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), have to date been great disappointments, as have similar projects that Fox set up when he was governor of Guanajuato state.

To counter the economic argument that trade and foreign investment alone will eventually deal with Mexico's massive emigration, one can examine the results of NAFTA. Since the treaty, average wages in Mexico have actually fallen (albeit in great part as a result of the 1994 peso crisis). We know how peoples develop today — we have the examples of such countries as Singapore, Tunisia, Poland — and the pattern is always the same: a relatively free market system, a reasonably representative and authoritative political leadership, an impassioned investment in education ("human capital"), a genuine system of law and justice, and, most important, equal opportunity for all.

"Fox's visit subliminally warned Americans of the dangers to their own cultural and patriotic cohesion from out-of-control immigration."

As much as we might wish her well on the journey, Mexico is only beginning to ponder those steps.

• Finally, Fox's visit last week subliminally warned Americans of the dangers to their own cultural and patriotic cohesion from out-of-control immigration. The Southwest today is filled with eager young Mexican and Mexican-Americans students who talk impassionedly about Mexican irredentism: retaking for Mexico the Southwesat lost in the war of 1848. In many Southwestern schools, Mexican flags fly and classes are all in Spanish. In the Hispanic community, too many voices speak of grievance against America (not enough welfare, not enough good schools) rather than of gratitude to this country.

As Harvard University's professor Samuel Huntington said recently at an immigration conference: "Mexican immigration poses questions unique in American history. Many of things I have seen lead to the possibility of a cultural community forming in the Southwest in which people could form their lives and careers in an overwhelmingly Spanish-speaking community. We have that already in Miami, and it could be repeated in the Southwest of the U.S. This represents a very unique and daunting challenge to our national identity."

It is crazy, then for Americans to think about "open borders" at this period of these countries' histories. And if we can extrapolate from the troubles of the European Union over the same subject, it may always be.

What we should tell Fox as we simultaneously wish him godspeed, is that when Mexico has taken serious steps toward development, well, then let's talk again. ■

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Presidente Fox's Vision for America

by Denos P. Marvin

On Monday, August 15th, the *Washington Post* published a report about Mexico's president elect, Vicente Fox, titled "Fox Seeks New Cooperative Era for N. America." The report cites Fox, who met with Clinton in August, as being in favor of a European Union (EU) style partnership in North America. (More about this later.) He also put forth in his "90 minute conversation" with the *Post* reporters several generalizations about our America which I believe are essentially untrue.

President Fox asserts that a new breed of technical engineers is emerging from Mexico's universities and he hopes these engineers could help solve America's severe shortage of engineers and take their place alongside immigrants from India and Bangladesh. Here I find the admirable Mr. Fox, former president of Mexico's Coca-Cola Corporation, to be mouthing typical multi-national corporate propaganda. Reason: There is no shortage of born-in-America engineers. During the past eight years the major corporations have sent them packing out the front door by the thousands only to replace them through the backdoor with docile low-wage immigrants who are only too happy to work for half the salary that the fired Americans were receiving. In fact some executives cynically refer to this as the "two for one policy" — fire one American and get two from Bangladesh for the same price. Of course, all of this takes place with hand wringing and crocodile tears and mournful platitudes about the shortage of American engineers. Shame!

Fox went on to state that the U.S. economy cannot grow at rates of 5 percent or more per year without Mexican labor. For this writer it is hard to understand how the mostly illiterate and totally admirable hard-working Mexican migrants have had anything measurable to do with the past eight years' supply of cheap oil and low interest rates or with the risk capital or the entrepreneurship and hi-tech skills that have presumably brought about this boom.

Fox also said that America is a country built by immigrants. Not so! To expand on the "built" metaphor one must bear in mind that our America stands upon a foundation built by the settlers of the thirteen British colonies, most of whom were white colonists, spoke English, arrived here with a bundle of rights, and were in no way immigrants in the sense of "foreigner" as many of us have been led to believe. Contrary to what President Fox apparently believes the most important "building" in this country was done early on by the Colonials: People like George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, John Hancock, Ben Franklin, Daniel Boone et. al., and subsequently by native-born sons and daughters, all of them Americans and all of them of all manner of ancestry, including, of course, many of Hispanic descent. It is the American way of life that attracts immigrants. It is not something they bring with them and "build" as President Fox and so many Americans have been led to believe.

Now back to what is surely the most far-reaching among Fox's visions for future relations with the U.S. and Canada: he proposes that we create a European Union-style partnership in North America in which the U.S. and Canada would help create jobs and raise income levels in Mexico. Its implementation might be great for Mexico and eventually for all the nations of South America and the Caribbean, but would probably cause grave civil and economic problems for the

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United States. Reason: a mainstay of the EU concept is to do away with internal borders and custom posts. That means we would have to surrender control over

"...what's good for Mexico may not be good for America, though [Fox] thinks it would be."

our borders to allow into our country millions of Mexicans, followed in the ensuing years by millions of other Hispanics, most of whom would be poor and illiterate. This massive migration would take place regardless of the effect it would have upon our health, education and welfare systems, our native labor force and, too, to our increasingly fragile environment. There would be serious changes, also, to our way of life due to the political coalitions that these immigrants will form with the American Left and other political entities.

This writer regards Mr. Fox's recent election to the presidency of Mexico as the best thing that has happened to that country since the early years of the Porfirio Diaz regime. However, what's good for Mexico may not be good for America, though he thinks it would be. Free trade, guest workers, student and other cultural exchanges, a limited amount of screened immigrants — that is indeed good for Mexico and good for America, but do we give up control of our borders in the manner of the EU, there will come upon us a rising tide that will, contrary to the cliché, flood and sink America as we now know and cherish it. Furthermore, one might wonder what Fox meant when on August 5, in Sacramento, CA,. he said: "My obligation is to all Mexicans *regardless of where they live"* (emphasis mine). ■

The Limits of Immigration

The U.S. cannot be a sponge for Mexico's poor — even to help their new President

by Robert J. Samuelson

Americans ought to hope for the success of Vicente Fox Quesada, the new president-elect of Mexico. He broke the 71-year rule of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), creating a broader and more genuine democracy.

Robert J. Samuelson *is a contributing editor of Newsweek. ©2000, this column appeared in the Washington Post on July 20.*

He promises to attack corruption, curb the drug trade, encourage private investment and increase economic growth. Fox deserves our support and sympathy. But we should not let good will slip into sentimentality. American and Mexican interests sometimes collide — on immigration, for instance, where Fox seems to have large ambitions.

Our interest lies in less immigration from Mexico, while Mexico's interest lies in more. The United States has long been an economic safety valve for Mexico: a source of jobs for its poor. By World Bank estimates, perhaps 40 percent of Mexico's 100 million people have incomes of less than $2 a day. The same desperate forces that drive people north mean that, once they get here, they face long odds in joining the American economic and social mainstream. Our interest lies in less immigration from Mexico, while Mexico's interest lies in more.

The United States may (or may not) need more immigrants — this is a subject of much disagreement. But we surely don't need more poor and unskilled immigrants, and Mexicans fall

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largely in this category. The stakes here transcend economics. Americans are justly proud of being a nation of immigrants. Peoples of many lands and customs have become American — which is different from what they were — even as they refashioned what it means to be American. By contrast, many Mexican immigrants have little desire to "join the American mainstream" precisely because their overriding motive for coming was economic and their homeland is so close. Their primary affection remains with Mexico.

Fox believes that only greater prosperity in Mexico — more jobs, higher incomes — can reduce the flows.

This is understandable, even commendable. (In 1997 only 15 percent of the estimated 7 million Mexican immigrants had become U.S. citizens. One reason, of course, is that perhaps 3 million are thought to be illegal.) But it is equally understandable that most Americans wish to preserve the nation's immigrant heritage — and not become simply a collection of peoples, from various places, who happen to work here and whose main allegiances lie elsewhere.

Fox's basic diagnosis of the immigration problem is sound. He believes that only greater prosperity in Mexico — more jobs, higher incomes — can reduce the flows. If people live better, they will stay home. Beginning in 1996, Mexico's economy has grown about 5 percent annually. Fox aims to raise that to 7 percent by 2006. He talks, somewhat inconsistently, of ultimately having open borders between the United States and Mexico, much as exist between members of the European Union. At one point, he says this could occur in a decade. At another point, he concedes it would require a convergence of incomes (perhaps 7 to 1 in America's favor) to prevent a mass exodus of Mexicans. Optimistically, that would take decades.

Meanwhile, he apparently hopes to raise legal immigration. This is the gist of various press leaks. He seems to suggest a bargain: the United States would allow more legal immigration; in return, Mexico would crack down — as it hasn't in the past — on illegal immigration. Already, Mexico is the largest source of legal immigrants, representing about 20 percent in 1998.

The Wall Street Journal quotes one Fox adviser as saying that legal visas should increase by about 180,000, which would more than double their 1998 level.

Mexico is the largest source of legal immigrants, representing about 20 percent in 1998.

For the United States, this would be a bad bargain. No one knows the number of Mexicans who come and stay illegally each year. The Immigration and Naturalization Service's last estimate (which dates from 1996) is 150,000. If this is correct, the proposed increase in legal visas would exceed the present number of illegal immigrants. Overall immigration would rise even if — miraculously and implausibly — illegal immigration stopped altogether.

The United States cannot act as a sponge for Mexico's poor. In the present boom, immigration is an issue easily forgotten. Anyone can get a job, we say. Immigrants (it's argued) have helped prevent a wage-price spiral. Up to a point, they may have. But the boom won't last forever, and the least-skilled immigrants always struggle.

"[Fox] apparently hopes to raise legal immigration. This is the gist of various press leaks."

The most obvious consequence of allowing more Mexican immigrants into the country would be to hurt those already here. The two groups clearly compete. An increase of 10 percent in new immigrants can reduce the wages of earlier immigrants by 9 or 10 percent, says a report from the Urban Institute in Washington. Fewer than half of Mexican-Americans over 25 — including those born in the United States — were high-school graduates in 1996, according to a study from the National Council of La Raza, an advocacy group for Latinos.

The same report warns that

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workers with poor English can do only "basic tasks at entry-level positions offering low wages." All this is common sense.

The most obvious consequence of allowing more Mexican immigrants into the country would be to hurt those already here.

The power of America's economy, culture and society to assimilate immigrants is enormous. History is clear: the children of immigrants increasingly become American. But that power is not unlimited. The job market, schools and social services can be overwhelmed by large numbers, especially — as is the case with Mexicans — when most immigrants come to only two states, California and Texas. The dangers are balkanization — a society increasingly fractured along class and ethnic lines — and a backlash against immigration. A possible perverse side effect is a rise in prejudice against Hispanic-Americans, who are confused for immigrants, even though they've often lived here for generations. This has long concerned civil-rights groups, like La Raza.

There is a difference between having open borders for goods and for people. The theory of NAFTA (the North American Free Trade Agreement) was that both the United States and Mexico could prosper from more trade and international investment. The theory remains powerful, even if it's no instant panacea for all of Mexico's problems. Vicente Fox and the next U.S. president have plenty of areas where they can cooperate to mutual advantage. But higher Mexican immigration isn't one of them. ■

Funding Hate

Foundations and the radical 'Hispanic' lobby

by Joseph Fallon

In today's Orwellian America, where all groups are equal, but some groups are more equal than others, four radical "Hispanic" organizations — League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF), Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan (MEChA), and National Council of La Raza (La Raza) — champion discrimination against non-Hispanics in general and European-Americans in particular.

In most cases funded by the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations and in all cases abetted by the U.S. government, LULAC, MALDEF, MEChA, and La Raza are "politically correct" hate mongers. These four organizations, which form the core of the radical "Hispanic" lobby, have succeeded in having the U.S. government advance their agenda in ten key areas:

Official identification — legal recognition of "Hispanic" as a separate ethnic category.

Affirmative Action — legal expansion of affirmative action programs to cover the newly recognized "Hispanic" population.

Legal immigration — adoption of immigration laws limiting ethnic European immigration while promoting massive Third World immigration in general and massive "Hispanic" immigration in particular.

Illegal immigration — refusal of Immigration and Naturalization Service to arrest and deport all illegal aliens; granting children born in the United States to illegal aliens U.S. citizenship; providing all other children of illegal aliens free public education; providing illegal aliens free social and welfare services; and granting illegal aliens amnesties enabling them to apply for naturalization, and after obtaining U.S. citizenship, vote, run for elected office, and sponsor additional immigrants.

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Voting — allowing illegal aliens and non-citizens to vote in local, state, and federal elections; Department of Justice obstructing attempts by U.S. citizens to challenge election fraud at the polling booths, and Congressional leaders quashing legislation that would impose stiff penalties for election fraud.

English language — adoption of government services in languages other than English for voting ballots, welfare, social security, and IRS forms, and drivers' licenses; elimination of the English language proficiency requirement for U.S. citizenship for certain aliens 50 years old or older; conducting part of the U.S. naturalization ceremony in Spanish; penalizing private companies that require employees to speak English on the job; refusal to enforce laws that established English as the official language of State government; refusal of Congress to pass legislation or a Constitutional amendment recognizing English as the official language of the government of the United States; tacit federal support to those States that declare themselves officially bilingual or multilingual, and tacit federal and State of Texas support to the Texas city of El Cenizo for declaring, itself, officially Spanish only. This tacit support by the federal and State governments extends to the decision by the authorities of El Cenizo to fly the Mexican flag over City Hall.

Bilingual education — educating students in languages other than English, principally Spanish; denying parents any say in whether their child should be in such classes; threatening legal action against local school boards that teach children in English; denying bilingual education to non-Spanish-speaking Indian immigrants from "Hispanic" countries (i.e., refusing to educate them in their Indian languages and English) and instead teaching them in Spanish; manipulating "bilingual" education to officially promote Spanish as co-equal to English.

Multiculturalism — promotion of other cultures, especially "Hispanic," while demonizing, demeaning and eliminating the European-American heritage and identity of the United States wherever possible from school curriculum to the names of buildings and streets to the recognition of monuments and holidays. For example, in 1994, San Jose, California spent $500,000 of taxpayers' money to erect a statue to the Aztec god, Quetzalcoatl, in a public park replacing the previous monument of the Liberty Bell.

Land claims — introduction of H.R. 505, "Guadalupe-Hidalgo Treaty Land Claims Act of 1999" that would enable descendants of Mexican citizens who had been living in what is now the State of New Mexico at the time the land was acquired by the U.S. in 1848 to submit community land grant claims challenging the existing ownership of private and public properties.

Freedom of speech — refusal of federal, State, and local authorities to arrest and prosecute those "Hispanics" who called for the assassination of California Governor Pete Wilson or made death threats to the sponsors of California Proposition 187 that denied free welfare services to illegal aliens; refusal of federal, State, and local authorities to protect billboards in Los Angeles calling for immigration reform or to arrest and prosecute those "Hispanics" who threatened violence if the billboard was not taken down; the removal by local authorities of billboards in New York City that called for immigration reform in blatant violation of the First Amendment; enactment of "hate crimes" laws which demonize European-Americans then interpreting such laws to cover "hate speech" so as to legally and financially penalize any expression of "politically incorrect" beliefs on immigration, bilingualism, multiculturalism, affirmative action, etc.

Where does the term 'Hispanic' come from?

LULAC, MALDEF, MEChA, and La Raza all claim to be "Hispanic" organizations. In fact, the word "Hispanic" is devoid of meaning and legitimacy. It does not denote a racial, ethnic, linguistic, or cultural group. It is an artificial term created to maximize political power for extremist elements within the Spanish-speaking minority. Historically, political opportunism has always dictated the racial identity of "Hispanics."

From 1820 to 1930, Mexican immigrants (whose presence was negligible since they never exceeded, on average, more than 350 annually between 1820 and 1900) and Mexican-Americans were officially classified as "white." In 1930, however, they were officially reclassified as "non-white." This

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reclassification was due to two events — the unprecedented level of mass Mexican immigration after 1910 and the attempted genocide against European-Americans by an armed alliance of Mexicans, Mexican immigrants, and Mexican-Americans in 1915.

Between 1910 and 1930, approximately 700,000 Mexicans (three percent of the population of Mexico) crossed into the United States, principally Texas, fleeing the chaos of the Mexican Revolution. This dramatic growth in the size of the Mexican population persuaded some a "Reconquista" of the U.S. Southwest from California to Texas could be achieved.

An insurrection was planned for two o'clock in the morning on February 20, 1915. The goal was to seize power in Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado and California and then declare these five States a single independent republic, which could in the future unite with Mexico. The written manifesto of this insurgency, the "Plan de San Diego, Texas," declared that this was to be "a war without quarter" against whites. At that specified day and time, Mexicans throughout the U.S. Southwest were to rise up and murder every white male over sixteen years of age and expel the surviving women, children, and elderly from the newly liberated land. To insure the planned genocide was successful, the leadership of the Mexican insurgency sought an alliance with blacks, American Indians, and Asians proposing that most of the United States be partitioned among themselves. European-Americans were to be confined essentially to the Northeast and Midwest. This overture was rejected by blacks and American Indians. But some Japanese accepted the proposed alliance and joined the self-styled "Liberating Army for Race and Peoples" apparently functioning as ordnance experts.

"Between 1910 and 1930, approximately 700,000 Mexicans (three percent of the population of Mexico) crossed into the United States, principally Texas, fleeing the chaos of the Mexican Revolution."

The insurrection, when it occurred, was limited to Texas. Using bases in northern Mexico, Mexicans and Mexican-Americans waged a guerilla war lasting 16 months — from February 1915 to June 1916 — against the European-American population of Texas.

Among the ringleaders were Luis de la Rosa (Mexican-American and a former deputy sheriff of Cameron County), Aniceto Pizana (Mexican-American from a respected ranching family near Brownsville), Esteban Fierros (Mexican-American from a prominent family in Laredo and a Colonel in the Mexican Army), Agustin Garza (Mexican immigrant), Basilio Ramos, Jr. (Mexican immigrant), Porfirio Santos, Manuel Flores, A.G. Almaraz, L. Perrigo, A.A. Sanez, and E. Cisneros (all Mexican nationals) and Mexican Generals Pablo Gonzales and Juan Antonio Acosta.

While the insurrection was eventually defeated by the Texas Rangers and the U.S. Army, this was not before the guerrillas had murdered 33 European-Americans, wounded 24 others, "ethnically cleansed" thousands of European-American families from south Texas, and destroyed thousands of dollars worth of public and private property.

To prevent this from happening again, the federal and Texas governments decided it was necessary to know how many Mexicans were living in the United States in general and Texas in particular. To learn this, "Mexicans" were counted separately from "whites" for the first time in the 1930 Census. They were listed along with non-white groups — "Negro," "Indian," "Chinese," "Japanese," and "Filipino." Since Mexicans were now no longer counted as "white," they were considered "non-white." Such a legal classification had the potential of subjecting them to the same conditions as blacks in segregationist Texas. Therefore, during the 1930s, "Hispanics," led by LULAC, opposed identifying Mexicans as "non-white," but did not oppose segregation. They only opposed "illegal" segregation — i.e., applying the "Jim Crow" laws for blacks to Mexicans. Within a few years, LULAC succeeded in having Mexicans once again officially recognized as "white" and eligible for all the benefits accruing to whites under segregation.

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Getting on the 'affirmative action' bandwagon

Forty years later, in the 1970s, after affirmative action programs were instituted for blacks, "Hispanics," led by LULAC and La Raza, changed their position on their racial identity and successfully lobbied the federal government to officially recognize them as a "non-white" group for purposes of eligibility for affirmative action programs.

In both instances, the losers in the game of official racial identification pursued by "Hispanics" were African-Americans.

What eventually became the "Hispanic" category was created on June 16, 1976 by Public Law 94-311, "Economic and Social Statistics for Americans of Spanish Origin." This law, which was endorsed by several "Hispanic" organizations including LULAC and La Raza, contained two significant elements: (1) the subject: "Americans of Spanish origin or descent" and (2) the legal status: "American citizens." Both qualifiers were soon dropped in an effort to maximize political influence by maximizing numeric size.

After asserting that "a large number of Americans of Spanish origin or descent suffer from racial, social, economic, and political discrimination and are denied the basic opportunities they desire as American citizens," Public Law 94-311 mandated federal agencies to "collect, and publish regularly, statistics which indicate the social, health, and economic condition of Americans of Spanish origin or descent." The law further required the Census Bureau to provide both Spanish-language census questionnaires and Spanish-speaking enumerators and to "implement an affirmative action program...for the employment of personnel of Spanish origin or descent."

According to the legislation, the phrase "Americans of Spanish origin or descent" applied to anyone who can "trace their origin or descent from Mexico, Puerto Rico, Cuba, Central and South America, and other Spanish-speaking countries."

That the purpose of this legislation was to create an artificial "ethnic" group — similar to the practice of the former Soviet Union, especially under Stalin, of creating "nations" by fiat — can be seen in the flawed methodology of this law and its inconsistent application. It was flawed because the law equated "State" (a political entity) with "ethnicity" (a biological/cultural entity). Then this flawed methodology was only applied to Spanish-speaking dominated countries, such as Mexico. But if all the inhabitants of Mexico are ethnic "Mexicans," then logically all the inhabitants of Belgium are ethnic "Belgians," not Dutch, Walloons, and Germans. Likewise, all the inhabitants of Switzerland must be ethnic "Swiss," not French, Germans, and Italians. All the inhabitants of former Czechoslovakia must have been ethnic "Czechoslovakians," not Czechs, Slovaks, and Hungarians. All the inhabitants of the former Soviet Union must have been ethnic "Soviets," not Russians, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, etc. All the inhabitants of pre-1990 Yugoslavia must have been ethnic "Yugoslavs," not Albanians, Croats, Gypsies, Hungarians, Macedonians, Serbs, and Slovenians. And, most importantly, all the inhabitants of the United States must be ethnic "Americans." Since this would completely undermine the purpose of the law — to officially create an artificial "ethnic" group within the United States and then reward that "ethnic" group with access to affirmation action programs — it explains why the law's methodology was not applied consistently.

"...after affirmative action programs were instituted for blacks, 'Hispanics,' successfully lobbied the federal government to officially recognize them as a 'non-white' group for purposes of eligibility for affirmative action programs."

But there was another instance of flawed reasoning and inconsistent application in the law's methodology, which again revealed the intellectual dishonesty of its sponsors. The flaw was the assumption that a common language of government

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among different countries meant a common supra "national" identity. While language can be universal, a nation cannot. A nation, by definition, is always distinct, unique, one-of-a-kind. The idea of an international or supra "nationality" is an oxymoron. Yet, by this law Congress was declaring Spain, Puerto Rico, and the 18 Spanish-speaking dominated countries in the Western Hemisphere — most of the latter having antagonist, sometimes violent rivalries over borders and/or regional dominance — shared a common supra "national" identity. According to this logic, India and Nigeria must have a common supra "national" identity since they share English as a common language of government. Similarly, Belgium and Haiti must have a common supra "national" identity because they both share French as a common language of government. But Congress again refused to apply its own methodology consistently. To do so would have exposed the absurdity of the law.

"... in [OMB's] Directive No. 15, ... 'Hispanic' is defined as: 'A person of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central or South American, or other Spanish culture or origin, regardless of race.'"

The next year, May 12, 1977, the Office of Management and Budget adopted the shorter title of "Hispanic" and revised and finalized the official definition in Directive No. 15, "Race and Ethnic Standards for Federal Statistics and Administrative Reporting."

Since then "Hispanic" is defined as: "A person of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central or South American, or other Spanish culture or origin, regardless of race." The new definition sought to further inflate the numerical size of the "Hispanic" community. First, all reference to "American citizens" was dropped. This omission enables illegal aliens to be counted. Second, by changing the phrase from "Spanish origin or descent" to "Spanish culture or origin, regardless of race" it is now possible to count as "Hispanics," among others, individuals from Morocco, Western Sahara, and Equatorial Guinea in Africa, the Philippines, Guam, the Northern Marianas, the Marshall Islands and the Federated States of Micronesia in the Pacific, and Jamaica, Trinidad, and the Dutch West Indies in the Caribbean.

Under this new definition, a sign of "Spanish culture or origin" is the possession of a "Spanish" surname. This enables the U.S. government to inflate the numeric size of the "Hispanic" population even more by counting "Urban Indians," i.e., American Indians living off tribal reservations, as "Hispanics" or "Mexicans." Since "Hispanic" is officially an "ethnic" group, "Urban Indians" are counted twice — once racially as American Indian which they are and a second time "ethnically" as "Hispanic" which they are not. In reality, many surnames considered as "Spanish" by the U.S. government are not Spanish at all — but Basque.

The Basques live on both sides of the Pyrenees. The majority resides in Spain. Basque culture, language, and origin, however, are unrelated to those of Spain. Although a small nation, the Basques played a leading role in Spain's exploration and colonization of the Western Hemisphere. Basque surnames are common in Mexico, Puerto Rico, Cuba, and Central and South America. Typical Basque surnames now regarded by the U.S. government as "Hispanic" include: Aquirre, Arteaga, Echeverria, Garate, Iturbide, Uribe, Vizcaino, and Zavala. This is the equivalent of classifying Irish as English, Dutch as German, Poles as Russian, Koreans as Japanese, or Tibetans as Chinese.

The category 'Hispanic' as a political tool

The "Hispanic" category serves two political functions.

Domestically, it is to create a "Hispanic nation" within the United States, inflate the numerical size of that "nation," assert that that "nation" has historically been a victim of white oppression, and insure such "nationals" become beneficiaries of all affirmative action programs.

Internationally, it is to legitimize and maintain

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"Hispanic" power and privilege in the 18 countries of the Western Hemisphere dominated by Spanish-speakers. It does so by realizing the stated goal of such Spanish-speaking extremists as former Guatemalan military dictator and mass murderer, General Oscar Mejia Victores: "We must get rid of the words 'indigenous' and 'Indian'." By adopting the term "Hispanic," the U.S. government is fulfilling the General's wish by denying the existence of all non-Hispanic populations — principally, Indians, but also Europeans and Asians. For example, non-Spanish-speaking Indians — the majority population of Guatemala and Bolivia, Italians — the plurality of the population of Argentina, and Chinese — a minority population in Mexico, do not exist in the eyes of the U.S. government. Just as in the former Soviet Union ethnic groups that fell out of favor with the Communist Party officially ceased to exist and became an "unpeople."

"By use of this fiction, Spanish-speakers are able to continue their historic persecution of the languages, religions, and cultures of the non-Hispanic peoples with the blessing of the U.S. government."

Instead, each of the 18 countries is viewed as a homogenous "Hispanic" subgroup — "Argentine," "Bolivian," "Cuban," "Guatemalan," "Mexican," etc. This is the clear intent of Directive No. 15. And it is how the Census Bureau identifies people from those countries. The attempt is to convince the public that each of these 18 Spanish-speaker-dominated countries is a "nation" just as the Germans, Irish, and Tibetans are nations. By use of this fiction, Spanish-speakers are able to continue their historic persecution of the languages, religions, and cultures of the non-Hispanic peoples with the blessing of the U.S. government. Since the U.S. government officially denies that non-Hispanic peoples exist in those countries, the U.S. government can officially deny such people are being persecuted. For how can you persecute someone who does not "exist"?

That the term "Hispanic" is an example of political opportunism can be seen by two facts. First, neither the U.S. government, nor LULAC, MALDEF, MEChA, or La Raza apply the methodology used to establish the "Hispanic" category consistently. If anyone of "Spanish culture or origin, regardless of race" is "Hispanic," then anyone of "British culture or origin, regardless of race" (i.e., Egypt, India, Jamaica, Malaysia, etc.) should be recognized as "Britannic," and anyone of "French culture or origin, regardless of race" (i.e., Algeria, Congo, Haiti, Vietnam, etc.) should be recognized as "Gallic." But this is not done. If this methodology was applied consistently, then, just as Argentina is recognized as a "Hispanic" country because of its "Spanish culture," thereby, denying the official existence of its non-Spanish majority population (Italians, Germans, British, etc.), then the United States would have to be recognized as a "Britannic" country because of its "British culture," from law to literature, and its "Hispanic" minority population would have to be denied official existence. Such consistency would effectively put an end to LULAC, MALDEF, MEChA, and La Raza.

Second, the U.S. government and LULAC, MALDEF, MEChA, and La Raza all promote racial/ethnic identities. There are no Americans, only African-Americans, Asian-Americans, Hispanic-Americans, Native-Americans, Pacific Island-Americans, and non-Hispanic white-Americans (a derogatory euphemism for European-Americans officially employed by the U.S. government which also employs the terms "hillbilly" and "Swamp Yankee" as official synonyms). This methodology, however, is not applied to Mexico and the other Spanish-speaking dominated countries of the Western Hemisphere. If it was, there would be no "Mexicans" only African-Mexicans, Asian-Mexicans, European-Mexicans, Indian-Mexicans, Mestizo-Mexicans, and Mulatto-Mexicans. Each category could be further broken down — i.e., Chinese-Mexicans, Basques-Mexicans, Mayan-Mexicans, etc. The same would happen to the other 17 "Hispanic" countries. This would pose a greater threat to LULAC, MALDEF,

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MEChA, and La Raza than recognition of the United States as a "Britannic" country.

Official recognition of the ethnic, racial, cultural, and linguistic diversity of "Latin" America would jeopardize the continued political and economic domination of Spanish-speakers over a number of countries, either in part or in whole — i.e., Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, and Venezuela. It would make the term "Hispanic" untenable in the United States either as an official "ethnic" category or as a rhetorical designation for an "oppressed minority." The result would be a dramatic fall in the number of people officially classified as "Hispanic," while those still identified as "Hispanic" would be recognized as members of a historically racist and oppressive community. LULAC, MALDEF, MEChA, and La Raza would lose power, influence, and the ability to present themselves as credible "civil rights" organizations.

The support given by the U.S. government to "Hispanic" hegemony, however, goes beyond official classification. It extends to direct action. When "Hispanic" control over any of the 18 Spanish-speaking dominated countries in the Western Hemisphere is threatened the U.S. government intervenes to preserve it.

In the 1970s and 1980s, when "Hispanic" control over Guatemala was endangered by an armed Indian insurgency the U.S. government, claiming that the insurgency was a Communist plot, successfully intervened with military aid to prop up the "Hispanic" regime.

During the 1980s the Miskito, Sumo, and Rama Indians fought the Marxist Sandinista government of Nicaragua to regain their freedom. Their land, historically known as the "Mosquito Coast," comprises between one-quarter and one-third of the territory of Nicaragua and was only annexed by Nicaragua, with the blessings of the U.S. government, in 1894. In the 1980s, the U.S. government worked with the anti-Sandinista Nicaraguan "Contras" to defeat them. The Spanish-speaking "Contras," the Spanish-speaking Sandinistas, and the U.S. government shared the same fundamental position — "Hispanic" hegemony must be preserved and Indian independence must be suppressed.

This year, by threatening to impose economic sanctions if they were successful, the U.S. government was able to defeat revolts by Indians and others which were about to topple the "Hispanic" regimes of Ecuador and Bolivia.

On-going American actions in Guatemala and Bolivia refute the assertion that the U.S. government supports "democracy" or "human rights." Whose "democracy"? Whose "human rights"?

Searching for a shared history

After "identity," the next shared core belief of LULAC, MALDEF, MEChA, and La Raza is "history." What is presented as history, however, is a series of half-truths and total falsehoods to advance the "Hispanic" claim that "we were here first." A claim officially promoted by the U.S. government whose rewriting of history proves Orwell's dictum in *1984* — "Who controls the present controls the past; and who controls the past controls the future."

In the introduction to "We the American Hispanics" — part of the Census Bureau's "We the American" series which provides a separate demographic profile for Blacks, "Hispanics," Asians, Pacific Islanders, American Indians, even the Foreign Born but not for European-Americans — the Census Bureau proclaims: "Our ancestors were among the early explorers and settlers of the New World. In 1609, 11 years before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock, our Mestizo (Indian and Spanish) ancestors settled in what is now Santa Fe, New Mexico."

This statement is remarkable not only for the breadth of its falsehood but also for its injection of a subtle anti-Southern prejudice into its overall anti-European-American message. The first permanent English settlement in the New World was not Plymouth, Massachusetts in 1620, but Jamestown, Virginia in 1607. The settlement of Jamestown predates that of Santa Fe by more than two years.

Nor was Santa Fe settled by "Mestizos." It was founded in the winter of 1609-1610 by the governor and Captain-General Don Juan de Onate who was, along with his large party of priests and settler-soldiers, white. The true history of the Spanish settlement of this region is told in T.R. Fehrenbach's monumental work, *Fire and Blood: A Bold and*

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Definitive Modern Chronicle of Mexico (New York: Collier Books, 1973). This book received critical acclaim from, among others, the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Albuquerque Journal*, and the *Christian Science Monitor*. Fehrenbach writes:

> *He [Don Juan de Onate] reduced the sedentary Zuni and other Amerindians of the Puebloan culture and soon subordinated them to Spanish landowners and mission priests, but the Puebloans resisted the loss of their old religion and sacred rites more than many Indians. The Spanish were unable to provide the reduced indios full protection from ancient enemies like the fierce Apaches. The Puebloans revolted in 1680, driving all the Europeans south after a general massacre.*
>
> *The Spanish returned ten years afterward, suppressing resistance in fire and blood, powerfully aided by smallpox. However, the missionaries now pragmatically permitted the northern indios to keep many of their ancient practices alongside the Mass. The result was that these indigenes, who had felt only pale emanations of the Meso-American culture, were never fully Christianized or Hispanicized.*
>
> *The New Mexican outpost failed to grow. It had a thin, isolated population scattered along the river [Rio Grande]. When Anglo-Saxon explorers and traders found it early in the nineteenth century, New Mexico was still living in the seventeenth century, following life styles as primitive as the lances and shields still carried by its horsemen.* (p.274)

However, the Spanish settlement of St. Augustine in Florida, founded in 1565, does predate the English at Jamestown and by approximately half a century. It is, in fact, often cited by "Hispanics" as proof that they were here "first." Why then did the Census Bureau not cite St. Augustine? The apparent reason is that the history of St. Augustine is an acute embarrassment to the authors of "We the American Hispanics." No amount of historical revisionism by them could hide the truth about St. Augustine and St. Augustine reveals the truth about Spanish colonization.

By the Treaties of Tordesillas in 1494 and Saragossa in 1529, Spain and Portugal partitioned the world between themselves. By comparison, the Hitler-Stalin Pact of 1939 was miserly; it only partitioned Eastern Europe between the Nazis and the Communists. The treaties recognized Spain as ruler of the entire Western Hemisphere minus Brazil, which went to Portugal, as did most of the Eastern Hemisphere. In that portion of the globe claimed as its property, Spain did not tolerate the presence of any European rivals, especially if those Europeans were Jews or Protestants.

Following instructions from King Philip II of Spain, Admiral Pedro Menendez de Aviles founded St. Augustine in 1565 for the express purpose of destroying the French Huguenot (French Protestant) colony of Fort Caroline which had been established along the St. John River in northeastern Florida in 1564. After capturing Fort Caroline, the Spanish, on September 8, massacred all the Huguenots — men, women, including pregnant women, and children — and then renamed the colony "San Mateo," a name it still bears to this day.

The Spanish Empire invaded California in 1769 and established the Mission of San Diego. Within a month, Indians attacked the mission and, thereafter, effectively confined Spanish control to the coast of California. Three dates stand out in the Indians' armed struggle against Spanish/Mexican invasion, colonization, and oppression. On November 4, 1775, Indians destroyed the Mission of San Diego. This is considered to be one of the earliest and most successful uprisings. In September 1795, Indians rebelled against the Spanish in the region of San Francisco. In Spanish-occupied California, resistance was greatest among the Indians of this region. And in February 1824, when the Mexicans "ruled" California, Indians revolted at Missions La Purisima and Santa Barbara in what some historians consider to be "the most spectacular Indian rebellion in California during this era..." All three dates should be made official State holidays.

Revising history

"History" as told by supporters of LULAC, MALDEF, MEChA, and La Raza almost invariably includes not only the claim that "Hispanics" were here "first," but that "Hispanics" were established in large

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numbers throughout the Southwest at the time the United States annexed that territory in 1848.

In fact, the Spanish Empire was unable to establish effective control over most of the land that today forms the seven States of the U.S. Southwest — Arizona, California, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, Texas, and Utah. The Indian nations — Apache, Comanche, Hopi, Navajo, Paiute, Shoshone, Ute, etc. — not only militarily defeated the Spanish attempt to invade and colonize this land, but the Apaches and Comanches counter-attacked and raided deep into what is now Mexico. The Comanches raided as far south as Guatemala. Spain retreated and established a series of military forts eastward from Sonora, south of California, to San Antonio in south Texas as a buffer between them and the Indians, especially the Comanches. North of this "boundary," with the principal exceptions of the coastal strip of California, and Santa Fe, Spain exercised no effective authority in the territory which later became the U.S. Southwest. On obtaining independence, Mexico inherited Spain's claim to this land but, like Spain, Mexico had no means to impose its rule. The land belonged to the Indians and the Indians were free, sovereign and independent nations.

Since the Indians controlled this land and were independent of Mexico, the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo was a swindle whereby Mexico received $15 million for "selling" the United States territory it did not legally own. Thirty-eight years later, the U.S. Supreme Court was forced to recognize this fact in *United States v. Kagama*, 118 U.S. 375 (1886). The previous year, Congress had enacted the Indian Appropriation Act of March 3, 1885, 23 Stat. 385. This legislation specified seven crimes — murder, manslaughter, rape, assault with intent to kill, arson, burglary, and larceny — over which the federal government had absolute jurisdiction on Indian land. The basis for this claim of federal jurisdiction was the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo. The constitutionality of this law was challenged on the ground that the U.S. government had never legally acquired sovereignty over the territories of the so-called "Mexican Cession" because Washington had never negotiated any treaties with the Indian nations who were the de facto owners of the lands of the Southwest.

Under the Constitution, the U.S. government was required to negotiate treaties with Indian nations. Article 1, Section 8 conferred on Congress the power "To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes." Article II, Section 2 empowered the president "with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties..." That Indian nations were sovereign polities and that the U.S. government had to deal with them through treaties was affirmed by Chief Justice John Marshall and the U.S. Supreme Court in the *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, 30 U.S. (5 Pet.) 1 (1831).

"On obtaining independence, Mexico inherited Spain's claim to this land but, like Spain, Mexico had no means to impose its rule. The land belonged to the Indians and the Indians were free, sovereign and independent nations."

In fact, between 1787 and 1871, the U.S. government negotiated more than 650 treaties with Indian nations in various territories it had acquired — but not in the so-called "Mexican Cession." In 1871, Congress passed legislation declaring "No Indian nation or tribe...shall be acknowledged or recognized as an independent nation, tribe, or power with whom the United States may contract by treaty" (25 U.S.C.A. & 71). While this law was blatantly unconstitutional, its wording did acknowledge that prior to 1871 Indian nations had been officially recognized as sovereign polities and their relationship with the U.S. government had been officially based on negotiated treaties. In other words, if Washington had wanted to acquire legal sovereignty over the so-called "Mexican Cession" in 1848, it would have been required to negotiate treaties with the Indian nations of the Southwest.

However, in 1886 the U.S. Supreme Court panicked. If it ruled that the Treaty of Guadalupe-

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Hidalgo was invalid, the Court would be admitting: (a) that the United States had been swindled, (b) that it had to negotiate a multitude of separate treaties instead of relying on the convenience of one, (c) that until such treaties were negotiated the federal government did not exercise any legal authority on Indian lands, and (d) that all previous convictions of Indians under federal law were null and void.

To avoid such consequences, the U.S. Supreme Court falsely claimed it could not question the legality of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo. The Court further asserted that treaties were not necessary for governing the relations between the U.S. government and Indian nations in the Southwest. The reason given by the Court for refusing to render a decision on the constitutionality of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo was so outrageous — it was repudiating the wording of the U.S. Constitution, previous decisions by the U.S. Supreme Court, and the existence of more than 650 treaties — that its "decision" actually proved that the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo was legally invalid, a fraud, and a swindle.

How insignificant the Spanish-speaking presence was even in the part of this territory Mexico did control can be seen in Texas. In 1824, the Spanish-speaking population in the Mexican province of Texas — a vast territory of 389,000 square miles that included most of present-day New Mexico as well as parts of Colorado and held one of the largest concentration of Spanish-speakers in the Southwest — numbered only 3,000. Compare that to the number of English-speakers in Rhode Island, the smallest State in the Union, with an area of only 1,525 square miles. Extrapolating from the 1820 U.S. Census, if the number of English-speakers is restricted to just the native-born "free white" population then they numbered approximately 83,000.

In other words, although Providence was founded in 1636 twenty-seven years after Santa Fe, and Rhode Island possessed less than one half of one percent of the land area of Texas, the number of English-speakers in that State was at least 28 times greater than the number of Spanish-speakers in Texas.

In 1824, the Government of Mexico invited Americans to settle in Texas, a land neither Spain nor Mexico had been able to effectively colonize or develop. The Mexican government extended this invitation because it saw in the American colonists a source of revenue through taxation and a source of protection, acting as a buffer or cannon fodder, against the Indians. By 1834, Americans outnumbered "ethnic Mexicans" ten to one. In 1860, "ethnic Mexicans" were less than two percent of the population of Texas — an estimated 12,000 out of a total population of 600,000. By 1900, the number of "ethnic Mexicans" had risen to 70,000, but this was still less than three percent of a Texas population that exceeded three million. In San Antonio, home of the Alamo and cradle of Texas Independence, German immigrants alone outnumbered "ethnic Mexicans."

The question of slavery

"Hispanic" historical revisionism also includes the claim that with the Guerrero Decree of September 15, 1829 Mexico had abolished slavery several decades before the United States. This is another example of intellectual dishonesty. All Mexico abolished in 1829 was the name, not the institution.

In fact, the Spanish were first to institute race slavery in the Western Hemisphere. The Indians were enslaved almost immediately but when they proved unsatisfactory, the Spanish introduced African slaves in 1502. The last two Spanish colonies "officially" to abolish African slavery were Puerto Rico in 1873 and Cuba in 1886.

The history of African slavery in the United States, on the other hand, begins in the colonial era with the arrival of African slaves in Virginia in 1619 and officially ends with the passage of the 13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution in December 1865 following the Civil War.

African slavery in "Hispanic" America, therefore, predates the establishment of that institution in British North America by 117 years, and continued to legally exist for another twenty-one years after it was extinguished in the United States.

Despite "Hispanic" assertions to the contrary, slavery and the slave trade officially existed in Mexico from the 1840s until at least 1890. Among the first victims were the Mayan Indians of the Yucatan who revolted against Mexico in 1847 in what is known as "The Caste War." The Mayans defeated the Mexicans. From 1847 to 1901, Mexico did not exercise any

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jurisdiction in central and eastern Yucatan. This vast area became an independent Mayan country called "Chan Santa Cruz." But by instituting a policy of "ethnic cleansing" — consisting of the mass murder of Mayan Indians, the mass rape of Mayan women, and the destruction of their villages and crops — the Mexicans were able to regain control of the western coastal area of the Yucatan. "The Caste War" lasted from 1847 to 1850. The dead, mostly Mayans, numbered between 147,000 and 275,000 out of a total population in the Yucatan of 575,362. In other words, thirty to thirty-five percent of the population in the Yucatan was exterminated.

The policy of killing captured Mayans was replaced on March 5, 1849 with a policy of selling them to Cuba as slaves. Eventually, Mexico would sell hundreds of Mayans into slavery. While slavery was once again "officially" abolished in 1861, this time by Mexican President Benito Juarez, all that changed was the identity of the slaves. The slave trade shifted from the Yucatan in the southeast to Sonora in the northwest. Instead of Mayan Indians, the slaves were now Yaqui Indians. Instead of hundreds being shipped to Cuba, thousands were shipped, ironically, to the Yucatan. "Men were kept in barracks and marched to work by armed and mounted guards, encouraged by majordomos with whips, marched back, and locked in at night." By 1890, one-third of the population of the Yucatan, more than 100,000 people, were "indebted servants" — a Mexican euphemism for slaves — and their families, principally Mayan and Yaqui Indians.

In a military campaign lasting from 1898 to 1901 and involving four Mexican army battalions, units from the Yucatecan National Guards, and the Mexican Navy, Mexico finally succeeded in invading and conquering "Chan Santa Cruz." The defeated eastern Mayans were now subjected to the Mexican debt peonage system — slavery under a different name.

While the debt peonage system was supposedly abolished in the aftermath of the Mexican "Revolution" of 1910-1920, nothing really changed. Witness the scandal involving the business activities of the newly elected President of Mexico, Vincente Fox. He has been employing underage children on his ranch in violation of Mexico's child labor law. Fox epitomizes Mexico — there is the "law," then there is the reality.

Elsewhere in "Hispanic" America, Indian slavery existed in Peru as late as 1915; and, as documented by the International Workgroup for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA) and the Anti-Slavery Society and reported to the United Nations, it still existed in Bolivia in 1975, and in Guatemala and Paraguay in 1978.

Enter the Ford Foundation

While they promote similar views on "Hispanic identity" and "Hispanic history," the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF), the Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan (MEChA), and the National Council of La Raza (La Raza) have separate corporate identities and histories. What is unique about both MALDEF and La Raza is that they are the creations of the Ford Foundation, which remains one of their principal sources of funding.

The League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), the nation's oldest and largest "Hispanic" organization, was established on February 17, 1929 in Corpus Christi, Texas by the merger of three rival, and often feuding, Mexican-Texan organizations — The Order Sons of America, The Knights of America, and League of Latin American Citizens.

From 1929 through the 1950s, LULAC was a middle-class, patriotic organization of U.S. citizens of Mexican descent whose activities centered primarily on education. Its agenda was traditional "Americanism" — Mexican-Americans must assimilate to the "Anglo" culture of the United States and acquire proficiency in the English language. It stressed "Mexican-Americans" were "Americans," not "Mexicans." An integral part of its activities was the promotion of U.S. citizenship and loyalty to the United States. LULAC rejected the idea the U.S. Southwest should be returned to Mexico and opposed establishment of Spanish-language enclaves in the United States. Because illegal aliens from Mexico were violating U.S. laws and posing an economic burden on Mexican-Americans by lowering wages, LULAC endorsed immigration control and supported President Eisenhower's "Operation Wetback" which deported a million illegal aliens back to Mexico.

By the 1950s, LULAC had expanded its activities

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to include litigation. In 1954, LULAC succeeded in having the U.S. Supreme Court hear *Hernandez v. Texas*, the first "Hispanic" civil rights case. LULAC asked the U.S. Supreme Court to overturn the murder conviction of a Mexican-American in Jackson County, Texas on grounds that the composition of the jury was unconstitutional. Although Mexicans comprised 14 percent of the population of Jackson County, none had served on a jury for the previous 25 years. LULAC argued that by not having any Mexicans on his jury, the convicted murderer's constitutional rights guaranteed by the 14th Amendment had been violated. The Court agreed with Chief Justice Earl Warren affirming "that persons of Mexican descent were a distinct class" — not "white" but not "black" either.

"[In1954, the Supreme] Court agreed with Chief Justice Earl Warren affirming 'that persons of Mexican descent were a distinct class' — not 'white' but not 'black' either. This legal victory spelled the beginning of the end for the original LULAC."

This legal victory spelled the beginning of the end for the original LULAC. Although the formal trappings remain — the official colors of LULAC are still red, white, and blue; the official logo is still a shield emblazoned with the stars and stripes and bearing the name "LULAC"; "Washington's prayer" remains the official prayer of LULAC; "America" is still the official hymn; and the Pledge of Allegiance continues to be recited at the start of meetings — the LULAC which so vigorously championed traditional "Americanism" is gone. Today, LULAC is a "Hispanic" supremacist group advocating actions that are diametrically opposed to those championed by its founders.

The original LULAC declared "Mexican-Americans" to be "white," a part of the same race as European-Americans, and successfully lobbied both the federal and Texas governments to officially classify them as such. Nearly a quarter of a century later, LULAC's position changed. Beginning with *Hernandez v. Texas* in 1954 and finalized in OMB Directive No. 15 in 1977, LULAC succeeded in having the federal government recognize "Mexicans," and all "Hispanics," as separate from European-Americans and essentially "non-white" so as to be eligible for affirmative action programs.

While the original LULAC emphasized "Mexican-Americans" were "Americans" sharing the same national interests as other "Americans," today LULAC's goals center on "group entitlements" as can be seen in *The 1998 LULAC Legislative Platform* available on its website (www.lulac.org).

Among its objectives: expansion of American empowerment and enterprise zones along the U.S.-Mexican border; incentives for "Hispanic" small businesses; retention of affirmative action hiring policies "to ensure diversity in all workplaces"; preventing California Proposition 209 from being enforced; increasing the number of "Hispanic Serving Institutions" and according them "as many of the same benefits provided to Historically Black Colleges and Universities"; increasing the number of "Hispanics" at all levels of the federal government and in the civil service, especially at "key positions in the State Department, the Foreign Service and the United Nations"; confirmation of 60 "Hispanic" judges; appointing a "Hispanic" as the next Supreme Court justice; employing sampling for the 2000 census; having the Census Bureau include the population on the island of Puerto Rico in the total "Hispanic" population for the United States; increasing the number of "Hispanic oriented programming in TV and print" as well as having the major media companies increase the number of "Hispanics" employed in "creative positions."

U.S. citizenship is no longer important. Membership in LULAC is not restricted to U.S. citizens. "Residents of the United States" are now eligible to become members (Article III of the Constitution of the League of United Latin American Citizens). Interestingly, it does not specify that they be legal residents. U.S. Citizenship is also apparently not a qualification for National, State, and District

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Officers, whether elected or appointed. (Article VIII, Section 4).

LULAC's apparent attempt to denigrate the meaning and value of U.S. citizenship extends to the franchise. In *The 1998 LULAC Legislative Platform*, the organization appears to condone, if not actually promote, the violation of this country's election laws. According to the section entitled "Voter Registration and Citizenship": "LULAC actively encourages eligible Hispanics to fully participate in the democratic process and register to vote. *We also encourage those who are eligible to become citizens*" (italics added). Since the law states one must be a U.S. citizen in order to be eligible to vote, the wording of this LULAC platform encourages voter fraud.

In 1954, LULAC supported immigration control and mass deportation of illegal aliens. Today, LULAC opposes both measures. Convicted criminal José Velez, the head of LULAC from 1990 to 1994, typifies this reorientation. Using his "special status with the INS as director of LULAC," Velez submitted false documentation for 6,000 illegal aliens seeking amnesty that netted him millions of dollars. Velez had previously declared that the U.S. Border Patrol is "the enemy of my people and always will be."

- ULAC sought amendments to the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigration Responsibility Act of 1996 to increase the cap on suspensions of deportations from 4,000 to "at least 75,000 per year."
- LULAC lobbied for full restoration of benefits cut by the Welfare Reform Act of 1996 to legal immigrants.
- LULAC was one of the primary opponents of California Proposition 187 — the proposition to deny illegal aliens free social and welfare services.
- LULAC "reject[s] attempts to dramatically cut legal immigration" insisting that current levels of nearly one million a year "serve[s] the U.S. national interest."
- LULAC opposes any deployment of the military to defend U.S. borders — not even to interdict drug smugglers — because "military personnel are not trained for border patrolling and might easily violate the civil rights of those they intervene with."

Prior to the 1960s, LULAC recognized English as the official language of the United States. Today, LULAC vigorously opposes any official recognition of English as the language of this country.

For example, in 1996, when U.S. House of Representatives passed the "English Language Empowerment Act" declaring English the official language of the United States in the "Bilingual Voting Rights Act," LULAC responded with an "Action Alert" to members and supporters. Full of disinformation, smears, and the threat of violence, this "Action Alert" claimed:

> *English Only is incredibly divisive because it sends the message that the culture of language minorities is inferior and illegal. With a dramatic increase in hate crimes and right wing terrorist attacks in the United States, the last thing we need is a frivolous bill to fuel the fires of racism. ...English Only is unnecessary because over 97 percent of Americans already speak English and those who don't are eagerly trying to learn. English language classes have three year waiting lists in Los Angles and New York and current immigrants are learning English at a faster rate than their predecessors.*

LULAC offered no evidence to support any of these claims. If what LULAC claimed was true, however, then why was LULAC — a) opposed to legally recognizing this fact by legally recognizing English as the official language of the United States and b) demanding that the U.S. government provide bilingual voting ballots, bilingual welfare forms, bilingual motor vehicle examinations, bilingual education, bilingual translators, etc.

The "Action Alert" then contradicted its claim that virtually all Americans already speak English by declaring: "If Congress was serious about increasing English fluency in the United States it would pass English Plus legislation that would promote English speaking and encourage Americans to become bilingual."

By bilingual, LULAC means fluency in Spanish, not Arabic, Chinese, German, Greek, Italian, Polish, or

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any one of several more languages.

But if bilingualism is as beneficial and enriching as LULAC implies, then where is the reciprocity? If English-speaking Americans should be legally encouraged to learn to speak Spanish here, then, logically, Spanish-speaking "Latin" Americans should be legally encouraged to learn to speak English there. Where are the comparable bills in each of the 18 Spanish-speaking dominated countries of the Western Hemisphere to encourage Spanish-speaking Mexicans, Colombians, Cubans, Dominicans, Ecuadorians, Guatemalans, Nicaraguans, Salvadorans, etc., to learn to speak English in their respective countries? Why isn't LULAC demanding that? Because LULAC is pursuing power not principle, is engaged in rhetoric not logic, and is motivated by hatred not tolerance.

This official attack on the English language continued later that year during the "Latino March on Washington." Belen Robles, National President of LULAC, told the audience "We must say no to politicians who vote for English only, the unwelfare bill and anti-affirmative action. Vote those in Congress who violate our rights out! Viva La Raza!"

Funding for LULAC's activities are derived from corporations such as AT&T, and, unlike the other "Hispanic" groups, membership dues. For the period 1994-1997, funding from "contributions, gifts, grants" totaled $380,929. "Membership dues and assessments" for that period amounted to $503,524. For those four years, total "compensation of officers, directors, etc." was zero. But "other salaries and wages" amounted to $336,988.

The post-*Hernandez v. Texas* metamorphosis of LULAC from a patriotic, middle class organization of U.S. citizens of Mexican descent into today's "Hispanic" supremacist organization was due in large part to LULAC's need to compete with the more radical Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF) and National Council of La Raza (La Raza) for influence and money.

MALDEF — The Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund

Perhaps the most important book to examine the origin, activities, and source of funds of the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF) is *Importing Revolution: Open Borders And The Radical Agenda* by William R. Hawkins. (The American Immigration and Control Foundation, Monterey, Virginia and United States Industrial Council Educational Foundation, Washington, D.C., 1994). The following paragraphs while based principally on the findings of Hawkins also include data from the MALDEF website at www.maldef.org.

Ironically for LULAC, the founder of the rival Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF) was Peter Tijerina, State Civil Rights Chairman for the LULAC chapter in San Antonio. Tijerina felt LULAC had failed to use its victory in *Hernandez v. Texas* to pursue legal activism. He wanted LULAC to imitate the actions of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Legal Defense Fund (NAACP-LDF). In 1966, Tijerina sent a LULAC member to the Chicago convention of the NAACP-LDF. As a result of the contacts established at the convention, the next year, Jack Greenberg, president of the NAACP-LDF, arranged for Tijerina to meet Bill Pincus, head of the Ford Foundation. Pincus agreed to advance Tijerina "seed money" to create a five-state "Mexican-American" organization modeled after the NAACP-LDF. This new organization would pursue civil rights litigation on behalf of "Mexicans" as the NAACP-LDF was doing on behalf of blacks. Tijerina became MALDEF's first executive director, and, in 1970, Mario Obledo, former Texas Attorney General, became General Counsel. After MALDEF was established by "seed money," the Ford Foundation then awarded the organization a five-year grant in excess of $2 million.

MALDEF was a creation of the Ford Foundation in more ways than just funding. The Ford Foundation soon took control of virtually all important matters from where the headquarters should be located, to the appointment of its executive director, and the type of legal cases it should pursue.

Initially, MALDEF addressed a variety of issues ranging from education to school desegregation, voting rights to job discrimination, composition of draft boards to legal advice for anti-Vietnam war protesters. The Ford Foundation found this tactic unsatisfactory. The cases MALDEF was litigating were not radical enough. The Ford Foundation wanted

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precedent-setting cases to go before the U.S. Supreme Court whose rulings would effect the entire country. MALDEF was duly restructured to achieve those goals.

Since then MALDEF has redirected much of its effort to bilingual and bicultural education — i.e., promotion of the Spanish language and "Hispanic" propaganda — and immigration — i.e., promotion of massive "Hispanic" immigration in opposition to the wishes of the majority of U.S. citizens. Among some of its actions:

- MALDEF supported the plaintiffs in "Lau v. Nichols." The ruling of the U.S. Supreme Court requiring non-English speaking students to be taught in English or "other adequate instructional procedures" was successfully misinterpreted by MALDEF to mean education in languages other than English.
- MALDEF sought to amend the "Bilingual Education Act" so general instruction could be conducted in languages other than English and bicultural programs could be included in the education.
- MALDEF filed charges alleging textbooks in California were biased against minorities.
- MALDEF litigated for free public education for the children of illegal aliens that successfully culminated in the 1982 U.S. Supreme Court decision in "Plyer v. Doe."
- MALDEF opposed California Proposition 187 that denied illegal aliens free social and welfare services and filed a class action lawsuit "challenging its every provision."
- Some individuals associated with MALDEF have demanded that U.S. citizenship be eliminated as a requirement to vote.
- MALDEF sought and received legal status to naturalize immigrants.
- MALDEF successfully lobbied for passage of the "motor-voter" bill of 1993 that allows voter registration at welfare offices or when applying for a drivers' license; mandates mail-in voter registration and discourages States from verifying the applicant's eligibility or citizenship.
- MALDEF filed suit in 1997 to abolish the state requirement that students pass the Texas Assessment of Academic Skills (TASS), a three-part standardized test, for a high school diploma claiming among other things that the "test contributes to the high drop out rates among Mexican Americans and African Americans."
- MALDEF is defending "affirmative action" enrollment at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor.
- MALDEF opposes immigration reform.
- MALDEF opposes securing the Mexican border even to stop the flow of illegal drugs into the U.S. When the Federal government launched "Joint Task Force Six" to combat drug smuggling along the border, MALDEF filed suit to halt the project arguing in court that "it would cause irreparable damage to the human and physical environment in the area." What of the irreparable damage being done to the human and environment due to illegal aliens and drug smugglers? On that question, MALDEF is silent.

What is MALDEF's goal? According to Mario Obledo, former head of MALDEF, "California is going to be a Hispanic state. Anyone who does not like it should leave." In 1998, Obledo was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom by President Clinton.

MALDEF obtains the funding to support its activities primarily from corporations in particular AT&T and IBM, and philanthropic foundations. For the period 1991-1995, the total amount of "gifts, grants and contributions" to MALDEF was over $17 million. Between 1996 and 1998, MALDEF received over nine million dollars from just three foundations: the vast majority, over six million dollars from the Ford Foundation, $1,200,000 from Carnegie Corporation, and another $1,525,000 from the Rockefeller Foundation.

For the two-year period, 1995-1996, MALDEF paid a total of $720,992 in "compensation of officers, directors, etc.." But paid $4,021,363 in "other salaries and wages."

La Raza — The Race

The National Council of La Raza was established in 1968 with support from the Ford Foundation and

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was originally called the Southwest Council of La Raza. According to a 1984 Ford Foundation report "Hispanic Challenges and Opportunities," its funding of La Raza "provides Mexican American communities and organizations with technical assistance and ... has also become an effective voice for Mexican Americans and other Hispanics." La Raza operates a Policy Analysis Center, which it claims is "the pre-eminent Hispanic 'think tank'" and uses its "findings"

"1996-1998, La Raza received over five million dollars from just three foundations: the majority ... from the Ford Foundation..."

to lobby for, among other policies, affirmative action, bilingual education, mass immigration, and more "hate crimes" laws.

For example, La Raza demands an expansion of "hate crimes" laws claiming "Traditional hate crimes against Hispanics have increased in number during the 1990s." What La Raza does not say is that such an increase is due to the flawed methodology employed by the U.S. government for reporting "hate crimes." When "Hispanics" are victims of "hate crimes" they are classified as "Hispanics," but when they are perpetrators they are classified as "white." Any bias incident between a "Hispanic" perpetrator and a "Hispanic" victim, therefore, will be reported as a white on "Hispanic" "hate crime." The number of "hate crimes" against "Hispanics" is naturally increased by such definitions.

La Raza condemns the "step-up [in] immigration law enforcement significantly along the U.S./Mexico border and in the interior of the country" claiming such activities violate the civil rights of "Hispanics." La Raza has called upon the Congress to rescind the immigration and welfare reform acts of 1996 calling them "a disgrace to American values." In addition, it has demanded another amnesty for illegal aliens from Central America coupled with this threat: "Our elected officials should not be surprised if their failure to act on reforms of these terribly unjust laws is met with a firm response at the ballot box." And U.S. citizens should not be surprised that those going to the ballot box for La Raza include illegal aliens and non-citizens.

On its website, www.nclr.org, La Raza claims to be "the largest constituency-based national Hispanic organization, serving all Hispanic nationality groups in all regions of the country...[with] over 200 formal affiliates who together serve 37 States, Puerto Rico, and the District of Columbia...and a broader network of more than 20,000 groups and individuals nationwide — reaching more than two million Hispanics annually."

Where does La Raza get the funding to support its many activities? According to its website, "the organization receives two-thirds of its funding from corporations and foundations, and the rest from the government." For the period 1992-1996, the total amount of "gifts, grants and contributions" to La Raza was more than $38 million, not including revenues from "government fees and contracts." Over three years, 1996-1998, La Raza received over five million dollars from just three foundations: the majority, nearly four million dollars, from the Ford Foundation, $850,000 from the Carnegie Corporation, and another $850,000 from the Rockefeller Foundation.

For the period 1993-1996, La Raza paid $983,522 in "compensation of officers, directors, etc.." But paid $9,842,560 in "other salaries and wages."

MEChA

Founded in 1969, Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan (MEChA) is the youngest of the four "Hispanic" organizations. It is also the most unabashedly racist and its pronouncements the most incendiary. *Reconquista: The Takeover of America,* prepared and published by the California Coalition for Immigration Reform in 1997, documents the truth about MEChA by quoting what the founders and supporters of this organization have said.

The first chapter of MEChA, called "El Plan de AZTLAN," was established at the University of California at Santa Barbara in 1969. Other chapters eventually were formed at other colleges and even at high schools. "According to Miguel Carillo, a Chula Vista High School teacher, there are MEChA chapters at over 90 percent of the high schools in San Diego

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and Los Angeles."

Money facilitated this rapid growth. Where did the money come from? As unbelievable as it sounds, according to Jacqueline Carrasco of UCLA, "Most chapters get their budget from the (tax-funded) schools and sometimes from the associated students. Funds range from $100 to $8000 for larger schools such as Cal State Northrop."

Among the demands MEChA has made are: rescinding California Proposition 187 (ending welfare benefits to illegal aliens); rescinding all "English Only laws; abolishing the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the Border Patrol; and open borders.

The goal of MEChA, however, is an independent "Aztlan," the collective name this organization gives to the seven States of the U.S. Southwest — Arizona, California, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, Texas, and Utah. According Miguel Perez of MEChA, at Cal State Northridge: "When asked his preference of government, he replied, 'Communism would be closest. Non-Chicanos would have to be expelled...opposition groups would be quashed because you have to keep the power.'"

As one of MEChA's mission statements declares: "This is revolution at its basic level, moving the people ["Hispanics"] to confrontational politics..." At the November 1996 MEChA statewide conference, one thousand supporters assembled to condemn California Proposition 187 and Proposition 209 (ending bilingual education). According to *Reconquista,* California State University Professor, and MEChA advisor, Rodolfo Acuña — who previously stated "the (demise) of the Soviet Union was a tragedy for us" and "Chicanos have to get a lot more militant about defending our rights" — proclaimed "anyone who's supporting 209 is a racist and anybody who supports 187 is a racist... you are living in Nazi U.S. We can't let them take us to those intellectual ovens." Not surprisingly four months after those and other incendiary statements were uttered, a MEChA representative during a rally in front of Los Angeles City Hall publicly declared; "When the people in this building don't listen to the demands of our community, it's time to burn it down!"

This was not an empty threat. In 1993, in order to advance their demand for full department status for Chicano Studies at UCLA, MEChA spearheaded a riot that destroyed half a million dollars worth of campus property.

MEChA spreads its message of hate through campus newspapers such as *El Popo*, *Aztlan News*, *Chispas*, *Gente de Aztlan* (UCLA), *Voz Fronteriza* (UC at San Diego), *La Voz Mestiza* (UC at Irvine), and *La Voz* Berkeley. MEChA's hatred extends to any "Hispanic"-American who is loyal to the United States. For example, the front page of the May 1995 issue of *Voz Fronteriza* carried a picture of Luis A. Santiago and the story of how this INS agent was killed in the line of duty defending the U.S.-Mexican border. The headlines read: "Luis A. Santiago: Death Of A Migra Pig."

In April 1997, MEChA held its national conference at Michigan State University and decided, in an apparent attempt to be more indigenous, to change the spelling of its name replacing the "ch" with "x." "MEChA" became "MEXA" and "Chicano" became "Xicano."

Unlike MALDEF, and La Raza, MEChA apparently does not receive funding from the Ford Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation or the Rockefeller Foundation. Unlike LULAC, MALDEF, and La Raza, MEChA does not have a national headquarters. Instead, it has regional centers. [*Editor's note: You may contact this journal for a complete list of e-mail addresses and phone numbers.*]

Conclusion

So with the encouragement of the U.S. government and with the financial support of major U.S. corporations and foundations, LULAC, MALDEF, MEChA/MEXA, and La Raza, pillars of the radical "Hispanic" lobby, successfully and aggressively promote hatred of the history, identity, culture, language, and laws of the United States.

For LULAC, MALDEF, MEChA/MEXA, AND La Raza, "Hispanics" are the new "Herrenvolk," European-Americans their "Undermench" and the United States their rightful "Lebensraum." As Art Torres, Chairman of the California Democratic Party declared at the January 1995 Latino Summit Response to Prop 187 at UC- Riverside: "Remember Prop 187 is the last gasp of White America in California!" ■

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Serenades of a Pied Piper

Review Essay by John Attarian

All nations are capitalist democracies or will be soon. History as a process of ideological conflict and institutional revolution is ending; the major issues have been settled; our prospect is peace, trade and consumption. So argued Francis Fukuyama, then a researcher in Soviet politics at the RAND Corporation, in his 1989 essay "The End of History?" The resulting controversy made him famous as a seminal minstrel of globalization.

The celebrated *The End of History and the Last Man* followed. Pessimism, the fruit of this century's wars and genocides, is outdated, Fukuyama argues. Latin American and southern European authoritarian states, the former Soviet Union, and eastern Europe have gone democratic. Indeed, "liberal democracy, the doctrine of individual freedom and popular sovereignty," is the only valid ideology left. Nonexistent before 1776, democracy is sweeping the world — evidence of a "fundamental process" dictating "a common evolutionary pattern for *all* [his italics] human societies."

The End of History and the Last Man
by Francis Fukuyama
New York: The Free Press, 1992
418 pages
$24.95 hardcover, $15.00 paperback

The Great Disruption: Human Nature and the Reconstitution of Social Capital
by Francis Fukuyama
New York: The Free Press, 1999
354 pages, $26.00

Is history, then, a flow of events in one direction? Yes, Fukuyama maintains, invoking the philosopher Hegel and his disciple Alexandre Kojève, who posited a Universal History of evolution of government toward achievement of free, democratic societies, at which point history would stop.

Two motors drive this linear History. One is scientific and technological progress. The need to adopt new technologies to match new weapons required by other powers forces societies to industrialize, and to "rationalize" their cultures and institutions so as to facilitate this. Economic development does likewise. Capitalism has outperformed all rivals, and some countries' prosperity leads others to embrace free markets.

History's other driver is human nature. Like Hegel, Fukuyama argues that man has not only animal needs but a desire for "recognition" — he wants others to acknowledge him as a human being, a moral agent who through free choice can override the determinism of physical creaturehood, hence has dignity. When History began, the primal "first men" battled for recognition. The winner became the "master"; the loser a "slave" without recognition, treated as the master's tool. Aristocratic societies had an inherent "contradiction" — all men wanted recognition, but only some got it. The slaves' resentment culminated in the American and French Revolutions and the advent of democracy. The slaves' desire for recognition drives economic development, too. They develop a work ethic and seek to master physical existence, hence create technology, which has its own powerful determinist forces. Democracy resolves the foregoing contradiction by granting equal, universal recognition. Since no other form of governance does so, democracy is the endpoint of political evolution. Economic development strengthens the democratic trend, because industrialization requires education and other social modernizations, which "appear to liberate a certain demand for recognition that did not exist among poorer and less educated people."

Democracy's triumph promotes peace. The "realist" school of foreign policy, seeing each state as a potential threat to all the others, is obsolete. Wars began as "a struggle for recognition among states,

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which is the original source of imperialism." Having supplied recognition, democracies tend to be peaceable and nonimperialist, and don't fight one another.

But will people be satisfied with universal democratic capitalism? Fukuyama cites Nietzsche's prophecy that a banal existence of peaceful consumption would spawn the "last man," a spiritless cipher. But craving ideals and intensity, people will rebel at a boring life of "masterless slavery" and "rational consumption."

Quite right — but these points were explored far more profoundly by thinkers Fukuyama ignores: Dostoevsky (*Notes From the Underground*), D.H. Lawrence (*Lady Chatterly's Lover*), Aldous Huxley (*Brave New World*) and Russell Kirk (*e.g. A Program for Conservatives*). Acknowledging that some people will want superiority, not equality, he tries to argue the problem away by claiming that democratic capitalism provides adequate outlets for this desire — business, politics, sports — and asserts that liberal democracy is humanity's "best possible solution." He concludes by leaving open the question of History ending.

Seemingly, this is a virtuoso effort of scholarship and thought. Fukuyama's ambitious argument, erudition, sweeping philosophy of history, and oracular pronouncements create an impression of profundity and mastery of his subject. Actually, they mask a sinister morass of confusion and intellectual dishonesty, and an even more sinister purpose.

Fukuyama's key concept of "desire for recognition" is incredibly sloppy. He equates it with, among other things, man's "need to place *value* on things," starting with himself, and men's desire "to assert themselves over other men." To place value on things is to give them meaning; surely our desire for meaning goes beyond recognition. Wanting to *dominate* others is not equivalent to wanting their *recognition*. Indeed, all these things obviously differ from one another. For all his pretensions to profundity, Fukuyama is anything but rigorous.

Moreover, he contradicts himself. If the demand for recognition "did not exist among poorer and less educated people," then History's motor would never have started, since the primal "first men" by definition had no education or wealth at all.

Fukuyama drips falsifications of history. For example: Nationalism is "a specifically modern phenomenon, the product of industrialization and the democratic, egalitarian ideologies which accompanied it." In fact, it was visible in the Roman Republic and Tudor England. German nationalism was aroused by Napoleon's brutal occupation of Germany, not by industrialization, democracy or egalitarianism. Wars have many causes besides recognition, such as population pressure and migration; the *Völkerwanderungen* of the Huns and Germans spawned the invasions and wars that destroyed the Roman Empire. Fukuyama's claim that democracies are peaceful and non-imperialistic is belied by the bellicosity and imperialism of the 19th century's greatest democracies: America and Britain — witness the popular Mexican, Civil, Spanish-American, Crimean and Boer wars.

"[Fukuyama] tries to argue the problem [of craving superiority] away by claiming that democratic capitalism provides adequate outlets for this desire — business, politics, sports — and asserts that liberal democracy is humanity's 'best possible solution.'"

These are stupid mistakes, but since Fukuyama cannot be this stupid, the only other explanation is tendentiousness, warping facts to fit agenda. Likewise, he frequently employs the polemical device of all-or-nothing loaded alternatives. Perhaps the worst is his reductive bipolar "lordship and bondage" model of pre-democratic societies, with only a few "masters" and everybody else "slaves" denied "any recognition of their humanity whatsoever." His philosophy of history leans on this model. Yet it is untenable. In pre-modern Europe, merchants, guilds, universities, the Church, and other groups and institutions had

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jealously guarded rights and prerogatives enabling them to secure recognition for their members. The Church's leavening influence won at least some recognition of lowly persons. Even literal slaves were sometimes recognized; many masters, from ancient times on, educated and freed them. Fukuyama's model is whoppingly counterfactual, and surely he knows it. He stacks the cards elsewhere, too, especially regarding the intellectual competition, such as Lockean liberalism and foreign policy "realism."

These malefactions are deliberate: Fukuyama is not merely *describing* but *advocating* global convergence on democratic capitalism, which he sees as the ideal. Moreover, for him, the only "rational" recognition is "universal and equal," applying to "all human beings." A "nationalist state," restricting citizenship to members of "a particular national, ethnic or racial group," manifests "*irrational* [his italics] recognition." Since "rational" and "irrational" are usually laudative and pejorative terms, respectively, which one he endorses is obvious. "Nationality is not a natural trait," he says, and "The distinction between one human group and another ... is an accidental and arbitrary by-product of human history." It must follow that for him only a world state, offering universal, equal recognition, is fully "rational."

"Humanity is being homogenized by technology, economics, and equal recognition — yet is resisting by reasserting cultural identities."

Humanity is being homogenized by technology, economics, and equal recognition — yet is resisting by reasserting cultural identities. Thus one sees "a curious double phenomenon: both the victory of the universal homogeneous state, and the persistence of peoples." One implication is that History's end necessarily means the obliteration of peoples — a prospect which does not disturb Fukuyama. Since distinctions between groups are "accidental and arbitrary" and only "universal equality" is "rational," it follows that we would, ideally, exist as interchangeable ants.

Indeed, profound contempt for humanity pervades this book. "Above all," Fukuyama says, man craves recognition: "his own sense of self-worth and identity is intimately connected with the value that other people place on him. He is, in David Riesman's phrase, fundamentally 'other directed.'" Man, then, is an empty suit, a nobody who becomes a somebody only when others say he is ("recognize" him as dignified), hence desperately wants them to do so. How such a sorry creature *has* a dignity to be recognized goes unexplained, apart from an arbitrarily-asserted, unexplained freedom to make moral choices. A Christian would argue that we are dignified by being made in God's image and likeness, and given free will by Him, but Fukuyama brusquely dismisses Christianity as "just another slave ideology," "untrue in certain crucial respects," and "based on myth."

So in Fukuyama's ideal post-historical world, people would be soulless, egalitarian human ants, tame ciphers preoccupied with their bodies, guzzling economism's output and living vicariously through the exploits of the entrepreneurial, political and entertainment elite.

The End of History and the Last Man, then, is a manipulative polemic masquerading as scholarship, an insidious attempt to sell globalization, the obliteration of nations and peoples, and the reduction of humanity to docile labor insects in one global anthill — in short, one of the most evil books of recent years. Fukuyama cobbles up a pretentious, untenable philosophy of history, decked out in ponderous, pseudoprofound Hegelian claptrap, to make globalism's Brave New World appear inevitable, the wave of the future. All this is unbearably turgid, tense prose, in which the argument keeps getting lost in laborious examination of specific points such as environmentalism and Asian authoritarianism.

Fukuyama's master, Hegel, was a disciple of Immanuel Kant, and regarding Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*, Ayn Rand once wrote that "if you want to propagate an outrageously evil idea (based on traditionally accepted doctrines), your conclusion must be brazenly clear, but your proof unintelligible," a

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mess that will "paralyze a reader's critical faculty" with non sequiturs, irrelevant digressions, "meticulously lengthy proving of the obvious, and big chunks of the arbitrary thrown in as self-evident."[1] It goes for Fukuyama, too.

He does make one revealing, damaging admission, like am ominous rumble of a kettledrum amid the triumphalist trumpetings. Democracy is "not particularly good at resolving disputes between different ethnic or national groups." Its efficacy varies inversely with diversity. "In fact, it fails precisely when the diversity of a society passes a certain limit."

What's eating him? Immigration and its Balkanization of Western countries are conspicuously absent from Fukuyama's analysis. Given its colossal importance, immigration receives astonishingly — and tellingly — short shrift: *three paragraphs* acknowledging that it will create tension between the historical and post-historical worlds eventually "perhaps more troublesome" than oil, but adding that stopping immigration will be hard, because post-historical countries "have had difficulty formulating any just principle of excluding foreigners that does not seem racist or nationalist," thereby violating "universal principles of right," and because immigration is needed to meet labor shortages.

But by Fukuyama's own admission, overmuch diversity is democracy's ruin. Immigration-spawned Balkanization, then, is a reef likely to rip the bottom out of history as it sails toward its final, globalist berth. Apparently he sees the problem, but hopes it will disappear if denied:

As I was going up the stair,
I met a man who wasn't there.
He wasn't there again today.
I do so wish he'd go away.

Shorter, shallower, and less ambitious, *The Great Disruption* examines "social capital" — shared values or norms enabling people to cooperate — and its importance and origins, by investigating the "Great Disruption" of the developed countries (America, Canada, Western European nations, Australia, and Japan) from the mid 1960s to early 1980s; a profound social deterioration involving rising crime, disorder, divorce and illegitimacy; a dis-prizing of marriage; and a decline of fertility to subreplacement levels.

Using charts, Fukuyama documents this disruption. He rejects common explanations: poverty and inequality (the disruption occurred in prosperous countries, including egalitarian Scandinavia); greater wealth and security (behavior changed more radically for the poor); bad government social policies (the middle class unraveled too); and a broad cultural shift (plausible, but doesn't explain the disruption's timing).

Rather, Fukuyama invokes economic determinism. Developed economies were shifting from manufacturing to information. This substituted mental for physical labor, "thereby propelling millions of women into the workplace" and undermining the traditional view of the family. Contraception and other medical advances made family and reproduction less significant. The individualism of markets and laboratories "spilled over into social norms." This determinism is untenable; nobody was *forced* to contracept. It is also laughably reductive: so much for ideas and beliefs, such as a libertinism and feminism.

Even as the social order was crumbling, it was being rebuilt. We are "*by nature* [his italics] social creatures, whose most basic drives and instincts lead them to create moral rules that bind communities." To show this, he examines, at excruciating length, the prisoner's dilemma of game theory; biological evidence for cooperation (e.g. among chimpanzees); the changing structure of social relations (modern information technology favors decentralized "spontaneous order," diluting but not eliminating the old corporate model of rigid hierarchies). This background information is interesting, but also tiresomely reiterates the obvious. For example: rather than benefit both genders equally, the sexual revolution "served the interests of men." The insidious effect is to lull readers into suspending vigilance, in the belief that Fukuyama is talking good old horse sense.

Capitalism depletes social capital, he admits, but the argument by Fred Hirsch, Daniel Bell and others that capitalism undermines the social order is "extremely one-sided." Capitalism "also creates order and builds new norms" to replace destroyed ones, and is probably "a net creator of norms and thus a net

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moralizing force in modern societies."

But this is mendacious. *Existence* of norms is unimportant; even cannibal groups have norms. What matters is their *content*. The norm of father supporting the family and mother home raising the children is gone, Fukuyama says, and reconstituting it "would not be desirable, even if it were possible." The new, Fukuyama-approved norm, obviously, is peer marriage with both spouses working and no children, or a few raised by televisions. This may not be good for truly human existence, but serves corporations well. Women are cheap, tractable labor, and vacuous kids make good consumers. Capitalism's "building new norms" sounds suspiciously like warping the social order to fit corporate agendas.

"The new, Fukuyama-approved norm, obviously, is peer marriage with both spouses working and no children, or a few raised by televisions."

Fukuyama cites evidence that the disruption is over and that "renorming has already begun": growth in crime, illegitimacy, divorce, and distrust in the developed countries has slowed or reversed. In America, crime levels have fallen over 15 percent since the early 1990s, divorce rates have peaked, and the share of illegitimate births has stopped growing. But this isn't saying very much. Social pathologies have gone from catastrophic to merely disastrous. Some recovery.

It's too early to tell if the problems are over, Fukuyama concedes, but "it is wrong to conclude that we are incapable of adapting socially to the technological and economic conditions of an age of information." He admits that rebuilding social capital is hard and that technology can spawn more change than we can swallow, and ends by arguing that our capacity for social reconstruction is our only hope that History's direction will in fact be forward. But overall he is optimistic.

The Great Disruption, then, is a tranquilizer fix by globalization's chief pharmacist. Capitalism and technology can, and did, disrupt the social order, but not to worry — being naturally social, we'll adjust, rebuild social capital, and carry on/ So let globalization rip, let free trade and competition from dirt-cheap immigrant and Third World labor wreck the traditional family, degrade women from homemakers overseeing the soulcraft of their children into crypto-male economic animals, and turn us all into ants in economism's global anthill. We'll get used to it.

His earlier book's insidious approach recurs: a turgid, laborious, digressive text, lots of old news, and such to make an evil conclusion plausible and palatable. And, again, Fukuyama makes an undermining admission. Liberal societies, he observes, provide no moral guidelines beyond tolerance. This was not a problem when societies such as France, Britain and America were culturally, religiously, and ethnically homogeneous. But they have become increasingly diverse and will continue to do so, partly due to "pressures for greater immigration" and permeable borders. So far, creating "a new, civic identity not rooted in either ethnicity or religion" has neutralized these centrifugal forces, but Fukuyama worries whether these "universalistic forms of cultural identity" will weather the assault of multiculturalism going beyond tolerating diversity to promoting it. All this implies something ominous about what mass immigration in this context means for domestic tranquility, but Fukuyama does not notice or deliberately ignores it.

Fukuyama was rocketed to prominence by being useful to globalism's would-be World Controllers. The most important project of the future, Aldous Huxley grimly wrote in his 1946 foreword to *Brave New World*, would be "making people love their servitude." This is the ultimate purpose of Fukuyama's evil books. People who want to live like human beings and not affluent labor insects must study them in self-defense. ■

NOTE

[1] *The Ayn Rand Letter*, January 29, 1973, p.174.

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How Did We Get Here?

The environmentalists ignore population growth

Article Review by Barbara McEwan

"The Environmental Movement's Retreat from Advocating U.S. Population Stabilization (1970-1998): A First Draft of History"
by Roy Beck and Leon Kolankiewicz
Journal of Policy History
Vol.12, No.1, 2000, pp. 123-156
The Pennsylvania State University Press

Although I have been a conservation volunteer for 40 years, this well-written article by Beck and Kolankiewicz brought out explanations of why conservation groups have downplayed the population issue I had never thought of. I was aware of the trend but these authors not only noted it but provided the background necessary to understand it.

Between 1970 and 1998 U.S. population had soared by almost 70 million people. Meanwhile, the environmental movement, which formally began in 1970 with Earth Day, seemed to be ignoring population growth as a related problem. Why?

There is a direct correlation between population and the environment. In a high-consumption society such as ours, which also has the technology to make serious inroads into Earth's resources, the evidence of environmental degradation may be less evident to urbanites — if only because much of it occurs in countries which supply us with their resources. But by 1970 we had plenty of problems of our own. Environmentalists pushed for and got legislation to take care of these problems. Trillions of dollars later, by the 1990s, although some progress had taken place, still there were more endangered species, fewer wetlands, and 40 percent of U.S. surface waters still were not amenable to fishing or swimming, etc.

Beck and Kolankiewicz suggest that there is a list of concepts that can constitute a "first draft" for future historians to explain what happened.

For one thing, by 1972 the Total Fertility Rate in the U.S. had dropped to 2.1 births per woman, which is considered the replacement-level fertility rate. The post-war concerns that the country was becoming overpopulated began to fade and the majority of Americans — non-Hispanic whites — failed to recognize that the reproductive rate of Blacks and Hispanics did not similarly decline. It was hard for any group to talk about population control without implicating Blacks and Latinos as the source of population growth.

Also, a new element had been introduced into the population debate in 1960 when the Food and Drug Administration approved the sale of oral contraceptives. The action was condemned by the Catholic Church and conservative Protestant pro-life groups, especially when abortion became so closely identified with contraceptives. Anyone in the population movement who worked for population stabilization quickly became labeled anti-Catholic and anti-life and therefore an apologist for abortion. Any group, including environmental groups, which had a significant number of Catholics and conservatives in its ranks, could not afford to antagonize these members so the subject of over-population had to be dropped.

This happened even in such population groups as Zero Population Growth (ZPG) which found more comfort in a new movement drawing public attention — women's issues. These included family planning, women's empowerment and reproductive health. While all are important in their own right, they do nothing vis a vis environmental problems and the role overpopulation plays in creating these problems.

Meanwhile a change in U.S. law provided for a dramatic increase in the number of people allowed to enter the country legally. The bulk of these have been Hispanics whose fertility rate has traditionally been high. Immigrants and their offspring from all countries

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caused the American population to balloon. By the end of the 1990s they were responsible for almost 70 percent of U.S. population growth.

This posed a conundrum for non-Hispanic whites who saw their formerly unquestioned dominance throughout the U.S. disappearing before their eyes wherever these immigrants chose to call home north of the border. At the same time, being anti-immigration was seen to be racially insensitive, even though one's country of origin does not dictate race. Added to the subject of "racism" was a new perception of non-Hispanic whites as people being dominated by a bigoted preference for cultural homogeneity extending to a narrow self-seeking nationalism, as one Australian sociologist put it.

Meanwhile a more encompassing trend began to develop. This was driven hard by American business which sought "more growth" as a primary method of making money. Business increasingly reported raw materials from abroad. Then, as various laws kicked in, corporations saw their best interests meant moving production to cheap-labor countries with few environmental restrictions. At the same time Americans, including those in environmental organizations, were confronted by the issues of global warming, biodiversity losses, the decline of the oceans and similar environmental disasters. Their expanded view of the world transformed these blights and U.S. population expansion into global problems needing global solutions.

"No growth," the former mantra of the environmental establishment, was then revised to "smart growth" — an oxymoron. The primary concern became *world* population. From this viewpoint immigrants to the United States were an example of population merely shifting from one country to another, always keeping the world total in mind.

This philosophy fit right into that of human rights organizations. Poor workers had the right to cross national borders to find jobs where they were avialable. Heretofore loyalty and the economy, laws, culture, and language were centered on communities within sovereign nation-states working toward national solutions of national problems and toward international solutions for international problems. This was abandoned in favor of globalization, the abandonment of national borders. What human rights advocates ignored in their global view was the "responsibility" end of the equation.

A global view presents an ethical dilemma. Do communities and nations have the right to give priority attention to their own constituents over people outside their boundaries? Can a nation-state make the preservation of its own environment a top priority? What about barring people alive today from migrating to resource-rich countries in order to preserve those nations' environments for future generations? If other countries are still growing, why can't the U.S.?

People commonly migrate to the U.S., not because of personal persecution or starvation but to enjoy greater material success. Unfortunately the more than 4 billion impoverished Third World citizens can never achieve our living standard because the world's resources are limited. Yet the dream of universal wealth continues.

Environmental groups rightly have a concern with immigrant objectives for the latter will vote, thereby influencing and keeping in office politicians who favor immigrant welfare, not environmental causes. California has been particularly affected. Corporations listen because immigrants expand their profits. Many foundations are governed by such mixed interests that they too avoid the issue of reducing immigrant numbers.

Yet the bottom line is this: the environment cannot save itself by itself. When counting populations, most people still do not understand that where you live makes a world of difference in impact on the environment — environmental impact equals population size, times the consumption per person (affluence), times the damage per unit of consumption (available technology). Every additional person adds to the debasement of the American environment to some extent. As it is, Americans have the highest impact on the non-renewable resources of Earth.

Beck and Kolankiewicz have presented historians with a real challenge to explain in greater detail how the American environmental movement did not continue to see clearly why U.S. population growth is the determining factor in saving our habitat as it did in 1970. ■

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Replacement Migration?!

UN Study reviewed by Leon Bouvier

For years the Population Division of the United Nations has published significant and useful demographic information for the world overall and for every nation in the world. As stated in the Preface of this most recent publication: "The Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs at the United Nations Secretariat is responsible for providing the international community with up-to-date and scientifically objective information on population and development." About every three years the Population Division (PD) updates its projections for every nation in the world. This work is done very carefully by extremely competent demographers. Every such work includes at least three optional projections for each country. When used correctly, these calculations can be of immense usefulness to policy-makers everywhere.

The PD is always on the alert for abrupt changes that could be demographically relevant to all nations. Thus, the projection publications are constantly being reviewed and updated to provide the users with the most recent and correct data possible. The PD goes further than simply developing projections. For example, with the tragic AIDS pandemic, especially in Africa, more recent population projections have taken this into account. Life expectancy in some African countries has declined from 60 to 30 years as a result of this tragedy. Unfortunately, some commentators took this as evidence that "the world population problem had subsided." They didn't bother to add that sadly, this was due to millions dying from AIDS in Africa.

Replacement Migration is the most recent publication from the PD that addresses a new demographic phenomenon: extremely low fertility in most European countries, Japan, and South Korea. When a country, such as Italy for example, demonstrates a total fertility rate (TFR) around 1.2 for a number of years, and when this pattern is noted in numerous other more developed countries, it is clear that new and unexpected demographic changes are taking place: population aging, to be followed by eventual population decline. This new report asks the question: Is replacement migration a solution to this new problem facing a number of advanced countries?

I will not go into detail as to the numerous scenarios that the PD develops. Taking one example: if Italy would like to continue its low fertility and still maintain its present population, 251,000 immigrants would have to be accepted annually, compared to an estimated 6,000 actually accepted. To maintain a constant age group 15-64, 372 thousand would have to be accepted annually; to maintain a constant ratio (i.e. 15-64 divided by 65 and over) the number of immigrants required per year would be over 2.2 million. Suffice it to say that the information provided in this report should keep policymakers busy for some time!

It is important to bear in mind when reading this report as well as previous PD reports that these are *projections* of future demographic behavior. They are not *predictions* of anything. Projections can be very useful tools to illustrate what would happen under certain specified demographic assumptions. Indeed, projections can sometimes be used to demonstrate the

Replacement Migration: Is It a Solution to Declining and Ageing Populations?

United Nations Publication
Population Division, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations, New York, NY 10017
Available free of charge.
(212) 963-3191 or (212) 963-3179; fax (212) 963-2417;e-mail: chamiej@un.org.
The pamphlet can be downloaded from www.un.org/esa/population/unpop.htm.
A related earlier UN publication, *Expert Group Meeting on Below-Replacement Fertility, New York, November 4-6, 1997*, is also available free at the same UN office.

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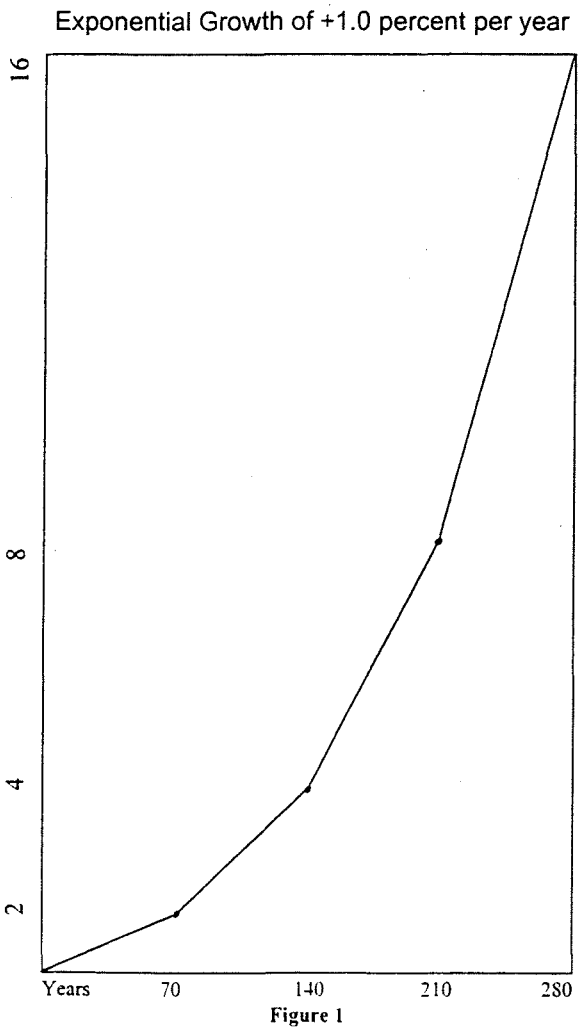

Figure 1

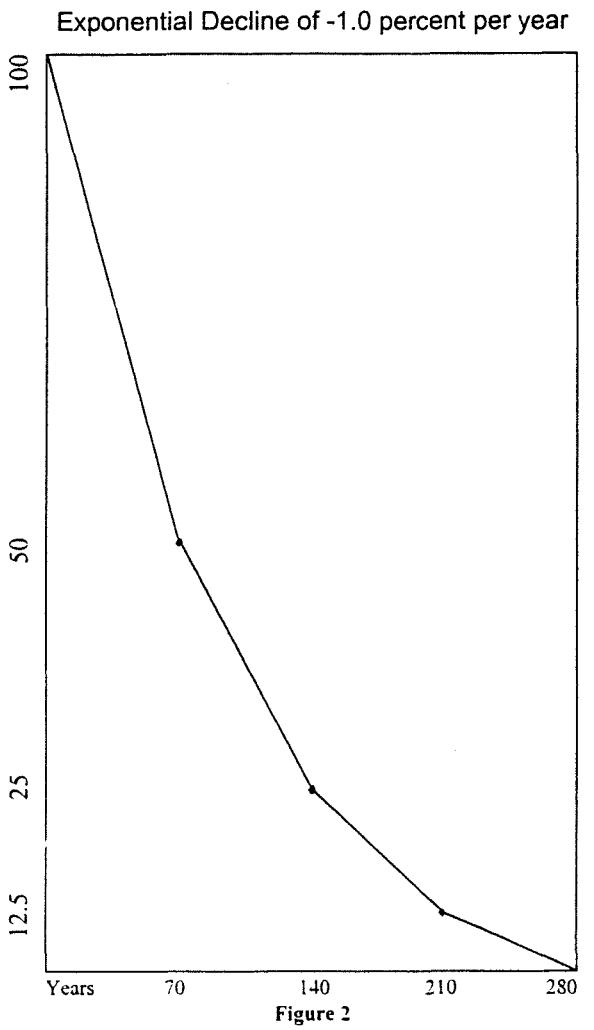

Figure 2

potential dangers *if* certain demographic assumptions were to prevail. Oftentimes, the person making the projections hopes very sincerely that he or she will be proven wrong!

That is to say, by illustrating the impact of a set of demographic assumptions, policy makers may react to make certain that these assumptions will not occur. This is the approach taken by the United Nations demographers. No one is advocating increased immigration nor no immigration. However, it is the responsibility of the United Nations demographers to point out what the implications are of continued low fertility. This has been done in this particular report.

To put it in plain language: If a country doesn't want its population to fall below a certain number, what are its options? Improvements in life expectancy are already included in the projections. That leaves fertility and migration. As the Report states: "Although fertility may rebound in the coming decades, few [demographers] believe that fertility in most countries will recover sufficiently to reach the replacement level in the foreseeable future."[1]

Increased fertility is an option but it is quite difficult for a country to raise its fertility, just as it is equally difficult to lower it. This leaves migration as the most malleable option. That, briefly, is what this report is all about. "What if fertility remains at its current low levels and an end to decline is desired?" The answer is increased immigration.

Below-replacement fertility over a prolonged

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BIRTH DEARTH

Countries for which the total fertility rate (T.F.R.) is equal to or less than the replacement level of 2.1 births per woman. Population figures are in millions. (Source: Population Reference Bureau, Washington, D.C. 20009)

COUNTRY	POPULATION	T.F.R.
WORLD – More Developed	1,184	1.5
WORLD – Less Developed	4,883	3.2
WORLD – Less Dev. (w/o China)	3,619	3.7
Monaco	0.03	–
China, Hong Kong SAR	7	1
Bulgaria	8.2	1.1
Czech Republic	10.3	1.1
Andorra	0.1	1.2
China, Maco SAR	0.4	1.2
Estonia	1.4	1.2
Georgia	5.5	1.2
Italy	57.8	1.2
Latvia	2.4	1.2
Russia	145.2	1.2
San Marino	0.03	1.2
Slovenia	2	1.2
Spain	39.5	1.2
Armenia	3.8	1.3
Austria	8.1	1.3
Belarus	10	1.3
Germany	82.1	1.3
Greece	10.6	1.3
Hungary	10	1.3
Japan	126.9	1.3
Lithuania	3.7	1.3
Romania	22.4	1.3
Ukraine	49.5	1.3
Poland	38.6	1.4
Slovakia	5.4	1.4
Canada	30.8	1.5
Croatia	4.6	1.5
Korea, South	47.3	1.5
Moldova	4.3	1.5
Portugal	10	1.5
Singapore	4	1.5
Sweden	8.9	1.5

COUNTRY	POPULATION	T.F.R.
Switzerland	7.1	1.5
Taiwan	22.3	1.5
Belgium	10.2	1.6
Bosnia-Herzegovina	3.8	1.6
Cuba	11.1	1.6
Liechtenstein	0.03	1.6
Netherlands	15.9	1.6
Yugoslavia	10.7	1.6
Australia	19.2	1.7
Denmark	5.3	1.7
Finland	5.2	1.7
Kazakhstan	14.9	1.7
Luxembourg	0.4	1.7
Trinidad and Tobago	1.3	1.7
United Kingdom	59.8	1.7
Barbados	0.3	1.8
China	1,264.50	1.8
France	59.4	1.8
Malta	0.4	1.8
Martinique	0.4	1.8
Norway	4.5	1.8
Azerbaijan	7.7	1.9
Cyprus	0.9	1.9
Dominica	0.1	1.9
Ireland	3.8	1.9
Macedonia	2	1.9
Thailand	62	1.9
Guadeloupe	0.4	2
Iceland	0.3	2
Mauritius	1.2	2
New Zealand	3.8	2
Seychelles	0.1	2
St. Vincent and the Grenadines	0.1	2
Puerto Rico	3.9	2.1
Sri Lanka	19.2	2.1
United States	275.6	2.1

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period is a very recent phenomenon. There have been brief periods when the total fertility rate fell below 2.1 but these have always been for a few years at the most. The United States TFR was around 1.8 for about a decade in the 1980s – the so-called "baby bust" period. Never before has fertility fallen to 1.2 and even 1.1 and remained there for relatively long periods of time.

Interestingly, the concept of "below-replacement fertility" is the mirror-image of "above- replacement fertility." Consider exponential growth (i.e. 2-4-8-16...). A population growth of 1.0 percent per year results in a doubling in 70 years (see Figure 1). Exponential decline is the exact opposite (100-50-25-12.5...) (see Figure 2). Note, however, that when on the increase, the numbers keep doubling and the difference gets bigger. When on the decrease, the numbers get smaller and differences also get smaller. A population "growth" of -1.0 percent per year results in a "halving" every 70 years.

"Although fertility may rebound in the coming decades, few [demographers] believe that fertility in most countries will recover sufficiently to reach the replacement level in the foreseeable future."
— From the UN Report

Let's use an imaginary example. Assume that the population of the United States is 300 million in 2000 and that it's annual "growth" rate is -0.7 percent. Should it remain at that rate, the population would be "halved" every 100 years (with zero net migration). When we reached the next millennium (3000), the United States population would be less than 300 thousand — again, assuming zero net immigration.

Another "mirror image" can be seen in population momentum. As is well known, this phenomenon is inherent in a young population. Even if fertility falls considerably, growth continues for another 50-70 years because there are so many young individuals in their reproductive years. Thus it is often said that "you can't turn off the faucet on population growth."

Now let's look at the opposite situation. Suppose women average just above one birth for a generation or so. The population begins to fall. In my view, in most instances this is a good thing for the society, given the size of many populations. Demographer Meredith Burke has pointed this out very clearly and succinctly.[2] With smaller populations, nations can do so much more for their people — be it more education, better housing, better roads — the list goes on. But at some point, fertility must rise to replacement levels if the society is to survive.

However, just as you "can't turn off the faucet on population growth," you "can't (easily) turn it back on." Let's assume that instead of 100 million, the politicians choose 50 million as a far better number for their hypothetical country. If the country waits until it reaches 50 million before deciding to increase fertility back up to the replacement level of about two births per woman, this will not end the decline. Numbers would continue to fall for some time before the decline ended, and by then the population would be substantially below the desired level of 50 million.

Thus momentum works both ways. Herein lies the importance of the United Nations report. In my example, I did not include migration. Presumably, when a country reached its desired smaller size it could then admit immigrants to maintain that size.

Another intriguing matter refers to the sending countries. These countries have above-replacement fertility and continued population growth — some of it quite rapid. The UN report indicates how many immigrants each of the eight receiving countries chosen as examples would require to maintain their present population. Perhaps a future UN report could look at typical sending countries and estimate how much emigration would be required for them to see an end to population growth. Again, this is a "mirror image."

In 1982, Thomas Espenshade, Bryan Arthur and I pointed out that a region exhibiting a constant below-replacement fertility rate and a constant level of immigration would eventually reach a stationary state.[3] Could the "mirror image" be present here as

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well? In a region with constant above-replacement fertility, what level of emigration would be necessary to attain a stationary level? I don't have the answer; perhaps some reader will take this research further. It remains a fascinating question and I would hope that the PD looks into this issue in a later publication.

I now turn to the social and cultural implications of massive changes in the composition of countries as a result of low fertility and migration. The Report comments:

> *In many countries, additional large volumes of immigrants are likely to face serious social and political objections, even as a means of slowing population decline and population aging. Therefore, regulating the level and composition of replacement migration streams to reach a desired population size or population age structure poses enormous challenges for Governments that may wish to do so.*[4]

That is about as close to governmental policy as any PD report will get and this is as it should be. The responsibility of the PD as stated at the outset of this review is to provide current and accurate demographic data for the United Nations membership. The numbers developed by the PD do allow for policy makers and others to speculate on what these demographic changes really mean for a nation and indeed, for an entire continent.

In my view, we are witnessing a tectonic change in the population distribution and eventually in the political power distribution of our planet. It rivals, if it doesn't surpass, the fall of the Roman Empire, the "discovery" of the Americas, and the Industrial Revolution. We may be witnessing the onset of the end of the dominance of Western Civilization over the rest of the world.

To the best of my knowledge, no group has ever inflicted societal suicide upon itself. That is what is occurring now in Europe, in Japan, and South Korea and elsewhere. It is being projected that "UK Whites will be a minority by 2100." All of the economically important G-8 countries exhibit fertility well below replacement, while sixty-nine "modern" or modernizing nations now have at- or below-replacement fertility[5] (see the listing of countries, page 82). This is not good; nor is it bad. Over the long course of history, numerous other massive shifts have taken place. I have enumerated a few. We are apparently entering a new phase of human history. I suspect that the historians in the year 2500 will simply have yet another "shift" to analyze. Where will the next center of power be located? That is pure speculation but the two demographic billionaires — China and India — would seem to be possible choices.

"In my view, we are witnessing a tectonic change in the population distribution and eventually in the political power distribution of our planet. It rivals, if it doesn't surpass, the fall of the Roman Empire, the 'discovery' of the Americas, and the Industrial Revolution. We may be witnessing the onset of the end of the dominance of Western Civilization over the rest of the world."

I have deliberately gone well beyond the UN report to illustrate how important these publications are. The UN demographers give us sets of numbers; they tell us very clearly what assumptions have been made; they never suggest policy changes. To recall Jack Webb and the television show "Dragnet," "these are the facts, ma'am, just the facts."

Congratulations to Joseph Chamie and his excellent staff at the Population Division for another job well done. ■

NOTES

[1] United Nations, *Replacement Migration: Is It a Solution to Declining and Ageing Populations?*, p.7.

[2] B. Meredith Burke, "Upcoming Growth from Prosperity: The US versus Japan," *NPG Forum*, August 1997.

[3] T. J. Espenshade et al, "Immigration and the Stable Population Model," *Demography*, Feb. 1982, pp.125-133.

[4] United Nations, *op.cit.*, p.11.

[5] Population Reference Bureau, 2000 World Population Data Sheet.

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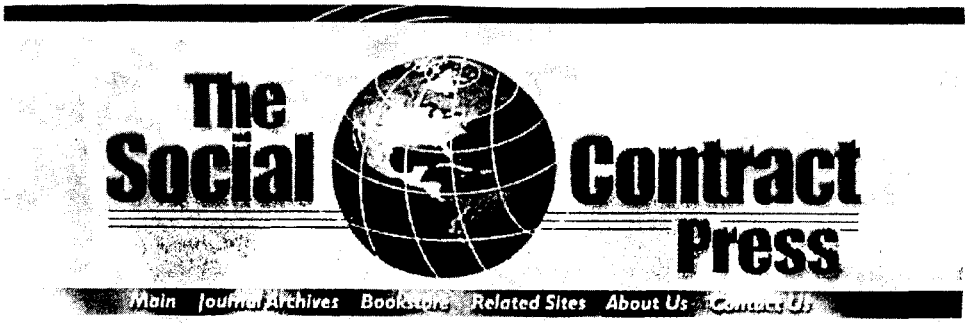

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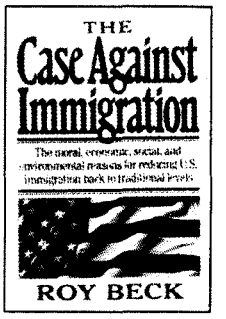

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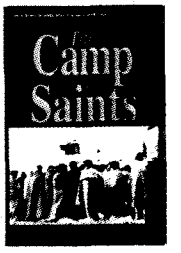

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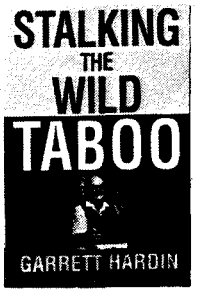

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